# A GENERAL SURVEY OF BRITISH HISTORY

BY
ROBERT S RAIT, C B E, LL D

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# GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

To DAY it would appear that we are feeling our way towards a new method of teaching history in schools and colleges The defect of the old system was that history was apt to be taught as a bare scheme of dates and dynasties a thing without any true application When it was taught in greater detail in short periods these periods were not linked up with any general historical scheme and so tended to be episodic and unrelated

A teacher of history must aim at providing the pupil with a conspectus of large scale historical movements and at the same time by a series of linked epochs clothe the bones for him in flesh and blood The past must be presented as a living thing so that the student can realize that its inhabitants had the same varied interests as he has himself and at the same time he must have clearly in his head the sequence by which history has moved from its early beginnings to his own day He must understand that the life of former ages was not merely dynastic and political but economic, social literary and artistic He must be enabled imaginatively to live again in earlier epochs and at the same time he must be given a bird s eye view of the processes of time

It is proposed that this series should be divided into three parts (1) the History of Britain (2) the History of Europe, and (3) an Outline of General History In sections 1 and 2 the scheme is for a general outline in two volumes followed by a sequence of epochs grouped around some determining movement or personality The epochs taken together will form a continuous history

of British and European life The aim has been to divide the past into tracts of time which have a real unity and significance for much of the present subdivision of history is arbitrary and unscientific The division is roughly chronological but there is no arbitrary length for each epoch One may cover several centuries and another a bare twenty five years

Each epoch will be treated not merely from the political and military standpoints but also from the social economic and cultural Even in the British section the treatment will not be insular Modern educational programmes lay stress on the connection at all points of British history with that of the world outside The old teaching of national history was apt to give a false perspective It is necessary when British history is taught to make it clear that Britain was a province of Christendom and that all our civilization arose from the known antiquity of two thousand years ago The history of Britain can only be understood when it is studied in relation to the history of Europe and of the world

The aim in the British group is to give in each volume a picture of how our ancestors lived in a particular epoch what their thoughts were what were the influences in their lives and what living and permanent movements and institutions that epoch contributed to the story of Britain In the European group the same purpose will be followed but the epochs will not have the elaboration of the British group It is hoped that the three groups taken together will provide material for an intelligent and balanced understanding of the past

JOHN BUCHAN

VOLUME I

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# A GENERAL SURVEY OF BRITISH HISTORY

## CHAPTER I

### ROMAN BRITAIN

ENGLISH history begins before there was any country called England. There is a distant past which is called prehistoric because it has left to us none of the written records upon which historians depend for the tale they have to tell. There are records—skeletons and skulls, burial places, tools and pottery—to indicate the existence and give some hints about the manners and customs of races who inhabited this island before the beginning of the Christian Era, and these vestiges of many centuries in the dim and forgotten past require interpretation and give rise to controversies with which the student of history is not directly concerned. The first written records relating to the British Isles, apart from a few allusions to the tin mines of Cornwall, go back no farther than the days of Julius Cæsar, whose armies brought our country into contact with the great civilized world of Europe, a world of which there is a much older written history. Britain came late into Europe, in which it was destined to play so great a part, and its entry came about through a conquest.

In the year 55–54 B.C. Julius Cæsar, then engaged in the conquest and administration of Gaul, made an attempt to conquer Britain. It was quite natural that he

should do so for the narrow strip of water between Britain and Gaul presented no difficulties to the transport of a Roman army The land was inhabited not by Englishmen but by tribes who were the kindred of the tribes of Gaul and sometimes a single chief held sway over districts on both sides of the channel Cæsar looked upon Britain as part of Gaul to conquer it therefore was not to embark upon a new adventure but to complete the work he had been doing successfully The east coast of the island is flat and open to an invader If the mountainous country had been on the eastern instead of the western coast an invasion would have been a more formidable task But as it is the east coast is not only flat but is also broken up by estuaries and navigable rivers which may be said to invite attack and there are no mountain fastnesses into which the native population could retire An army which landed on the east coast would find few natural obstacles to its march It might have to skirt the fens or to avoid a forest but the geography of the eastern portion of the island was likely rather to help than to hinder an invader

Julius Cæsar did not conquer Britain In the summer of 55 B C he effected a landing on the coast of Kent It was not a surprise landing and the Britons who knew all about his doings in Gaul offered a fierce opposition and were beaten But though he made a successful beginning Cæsar s plans miscarried and he went back to Gaul to make preparations for a greater effort in the following year In July 54 B C he came again and landed near the same place (in the neighbourhood of Deal) with a larger army But again things went wrong and though Cæsar defeated some British tribes and compelled them to submit he soon returned to Gaul and he never again had an opportunity of renewing his attempt upon Britain Yet the influence of Cæsar upon Britain was not confined to the results of two ineffectual campaigns Britain and Gaul were in close contact with each other and when Cæsar changed Celtic Gaul into Roman Gaul he was indirectly beginning a Roman conquest of

Britain The Britons learned Roman ways and customs from the Gauls and a British chief Cunobeline or Cymbeline whose name is best remembered by Shakespeare's play, encouraged his people to adopt these customs and on his coins he called himself by the Roman title of Rex The Britons imported Roman pottery and Roman brooches and they made some sort of submission to Rome in the reigns of the two famous emperors, Augustus and Tiberius

This vague acknowledgment of Roman suzerainty did not satisfy the Romans and in the year A D 43 almost a century after Cæsar's invasions the Emperor Claudius who wished to make his rule famous by extending the Roman Empire gave orders for the conquest of Britain Cymbeline had just died and his death was probably followed by civil wars which hampered the trade between Britain and Roman Gaul and gave the Romans another reason for interference The plans for this conquest did not miscarry Roman soldiers once more landed in Kent and under their general Aulus Plautius made their way northwards towards Camulodunum or Colchester the city which had been the capital of Cymbeline The Britons succeeded for a time in stopping their progress on the banks of the Thames and the Emperor Claudius came in person from Gaul to encourage his troops Colchester soon fell and the conquest of the lowland area of South Britain northwards to the river Trent and westwards to the river Severn was accomplished within the four years A D 43–47 In accordance with their custom the Romans made a series of great roads for the movement of their armies For geographical reasons London became the centre of their system It was near their base in Gaul the estuary of the Thames provided a good harbour and the river afforded communication by water with the Midlands London was the natural meeting place alike for the people of Norfolk Suffolk and Essex and for the people of Kent and Sussex These names are of course all much later than the Roman conquest but the geog

raphy of the land is not affected by the succession of names given to political divisions, the Iceni who inhabited what afterwards came to be called Norfolk and Suffolk found as later generations were to find that if they were to avoid the sea and the fens their nearest market was London From London therefore the Romans made their roads One road ran to Silchester a Roman town near Reading which recent excavations have brought to light and from Silchester it was continued to Winchester in the south to Exeter in the west and to Gloucester on the borders of Wales Another went north by Verulam a Roman town close to St Albans to Wroxeter (in Shropshire) and to Chester The third passed by Colchester and Cambridge to Lincoln The borders of the new province were protected by fortresses

The need and the value of these roads the earliest roads our island has known were soon proved In the year A D 61 there was a British revolt against the conquerors It was brought about by the tyranny of the Roman garrisons and it was led by a woman Boudicca better known as the Boadicea of Cowper's famous poem was the widow of a prince of the Iceni On the death of her husband who had been loyal to Rome his possessions were seized and Boadicea herself was maltreated and scourged She became a warrior-queen and collected a native army which obeyed as its leader this tall fierce woman who with her golden hair hanging far down her back was an impersonation of one of the old Greek furies At first she met with some success The Britons destroyed the Roman settlements at Colchester Verulam and London defeated a Roman legion and massacred many thousands who were living under Roman protection But in a great battle the Roman governor completely destroyed the British army A savage revenge was taken and the country of the Iceni—now Norfolk and Suffolk—was devastated Boadicea put an end to her own life to escape falling into the hands of a merciless enemy Peace was restored in

the lowlands, which never again rebelled against the conquerors

To subdue the mountainous region in the west and the north was a more difficult problem A British leader named Caractacus, a son of Cymbeline had been driven from the east country by Aulus Plautius and had taken refuge in the Welsh mountains Thence he had continued to harass the Romans until in the year 50 he had been defeated and brought captive to Rome Other leaders took his place and the Britons on the borders of Wales were still fighting the Romans at the time of Boadicea's insurrection For some years there were no further attempts to conquer the west Then between the years 71 and 78 most of Wales was subdued and in the latter year there came to Britain a new Roman governor who was to be the conqueror of the north This was Agricola whose son in law the Roman historian Tacitus, wrote an account of his achievements in Britain Agricola completed the conquest of Wales and then turned his attention to the north The Romans may already have had a military station at York but the north west was entirely outside the Roman dominion and beyond what is now the Scottish border there were marauding Caledonian tribes Agricola meant to subdue the whole island and he made an expedition far into what is now Scotland How far north he penetrated we do not know but between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde he built a chain of forts to protect the frontier Beyond these forts there were military stations and when Agricola returned to Rome after seven years in Britain the Roman dominion stretched to central Scotland

With the departure of Agricola, our knowledge of events on the frontiers of the Roman province of Britain ceases for a time About the year 120 there was a great rising in the north against the Romans The rebellion was suppressed by the Emperor Hadrian in person and it was he who first built the famous Roman wall from Carlisle to Newcastle The district between Hadrian's

Wall from the Solway to the Tyne and Agricola's line of forts from Clyde to Forth was however, reoccupied in the year 142 and Agricola's old forts were connected by a wall known by the name of the Emperor Antoninus Pius But the northern tribes were fierce and troublesome and by the year 185 the Romans had decided to abandon this wild country and to be content with holding Hadrian's Wall and a few forts beyond it The wall was rebuilt and strengthened and its ruins are stately and impressive to this day Its defence in the declining years of the Roman power in Britain is described by Mr Kipling in *Puck of Pook's Hill* The Roman Empire was itself declining and could no longer afford to maintain troops in distant Britain even though after the first conquests very few of the soldiers were Italians We do not know the story of the last days of Roman Britain The Britons did not rebel against the Romans but Rome became too weak to hold her conquests and somewhere about the year 410 the Britons were left to their own resources and deprived of the protection which Rome had given them

This brief sketch of the rise and fall of the Roman dominion in Britain supplies the bare military facts which are necessary for the discussion of an important and indeed fundamental question about our history What was the permanent result of nearly four hundred years of Roman occupation? We know that the future of the country which we call France was determined by the Roman occupation of Gaul that the French language French law and French manners and customs are derived from the language and the civilization which the Romans gave to the Gauls Is our own country similarly in any sense a child of the Roman Empire? To answer this question we must first of all know whether in the centuries of the Roman occupation Britain was Romanized in the way in which Gaul was Romanized And here we must distinguish between the lowlands and the mountainous country We have seen that there was a great difference in the process of con-

quest The lowlands were subdued in about seven years after the memorable year A D 43 and except for one insurrection under Boadicea they gave no trouble to the Romans The mountainous country was conquered very slowly and there were many rebellions There is a similar difference in the effects produced by the Roman occupation upon different parts of the country The lowlands formed the Roman Province, the mountainous regions were the frontiers

The Province did not go farther north than the neighbourhood of Ripon nor farther west than the Welsh borders and the town of Exeter It was Romanized Britain—that is to say a British land in which a British people adopted Roman customs The change was not made by the introduction of any considerable number of Italians into this island, foreign soldiers were numerous on the frontiers but there were few in the Province The race remained the same as before the Roman conquest, but it was civilized by what it learned from Rome The greatest thing that the Britons learned from Rome was to live in towns Before the Romans came the Britons thought of a town only as a place of refuge from the attacks of enemies—a hiding place in the obscurity of a forest or a strong place on the top of a hill Between the invasion of Julius Cæsar and the real Roman conquest some notion of town life had been borrowed from Roman Gaul and during the Roman occupation the Britons learned to live in towns The town became the home and the people who worked on the land near a town lived in the town and went out to their work day by day The largest town was London and after it came Cirencester and then Verulam Wroxeter, Colchester Leicester Silchester Other towns were Chichester Winchester and Dorchester in the south and Gloucester, Bath and Exeter in the west There were fewer towns in the midlands the east and the north The midlands and north were thinly populated until the great industrial changes of recent times and Norfolk and Suffolk seem not to have recovered from the devas

tation which followed the insurrection of Boadicea Besides the towns there were villages which shared though not so fully in Roman civilization

The towns were planned in imitation of Roman towns and their public buildings were Roman buildings The houses belonging to private citizens were less like the old Roman houses which can be seen to this day in the buried and rediscovered Roman town of Pompeii near Naples but the decorations followed Roman models The frescoes and mosaics and the tiles which have been uncovered in Bath or Silchester or other Roman British towns or villages are all constructed in accordance with Italian designs and there is nothing in them to show that they belonged to Britain The pottery and dishes used in the household the bronze brooches buckles and the buttons and other relics of home life which have survived are also Roman The inscriptions—words or sentences scribbled on the walls of the houses—are in Latin and prove that the ordinary speech of the inhabitants of a town like Silchester was the Latin tongue The old British or Celtic tongue survived in the country and may also have been known to the town dwellers but the general speech in the towns seems to have been Latin Outside the towns there were villages country houses belonging to the landowners farmhouses and labourers cottages and there is evidence to show that those who lived in these were also Romanized Britons though we cannot tell whether the farm labourers were all slaves as they were in Italy

While this process of Romanization was going on in the Province the frontiers remained comparatively unaffected by it We find Roman civilization in the Province but only Roman military occupation on the frontiers The forts and the great wall remain but there are scarcely any vestiges of villages or country houses These districts were not really Roman Britain but only Britain held by the soldiers of the Roman Empire There were roads in the frontiers as there were roads in the Province but they were military roads serving the purposes of the

garrison and not highways for commerce In the last years of the Roman occupation Christianity was introduced into Britain but it seems to have affected only the Province not the frontiers How the new religion came we do not know but it does not seem to have come through the army It influenced the inhabitants of the towns and villages and at Silchester there exists what are believed to be the foundations of a Christian church In the southern parts of the Province the majority of the Romanized Celts may have ceased to worship their old heathen gods and may have adopted the new faith

We are inquiring about the permanent results of the Roman occupation and are asking whether predominant Roman influence is to be found in the later history of this island as it is found in France To help us to answer that question we have asked another—whether Britain was Romanized in the way in which Gaul was Romanized The answer to this second question thanks to the investigations of recent excavators and historians of Roman Britain, is quite clear In the Province though not on the frontiers Britain was Romanized in the same way as Gaul When the Romans went away in the early years of the fifth century they left behind them the heritage of Roman civilization Did that heritage pass to the next conquerors to the men who made South Britain no longer South Britain but England? To answer this question we must know something about these men and their conquest

## CHAPTER II

### FROM BRITAIN TO ENGLAND

In the fifth and sixth centuries—that is between the year 401 and the year 600—South Britain came to be so completely changed that the Romans if they could have returned would have been unable to recognize it The towns which had been the centres of the life of the British Province had ceased to be inhabited Three of the towns of which we spoke in the last chapter bore names that are not familiar to-day because they are not the names of English towns—Wroxeter Silchester Verulam There have been no inhabitants of these places since Roman times though the town of St Albans has grown up close to the site of the old Verulam Yet all three were among the larger towns of Roman Britain What happened to such towns? Some of them were burned by the invaders who came after the Romans had left One of these was Wroxeter There is no written record that relates its destruction but the ruins which have been excavated and uncovered tell their own tale and show the marks of fire The ruins of Sil chester on the other hand bear no traces of fire and it is supposed that the town was rendered uninhabitable by the constant attacks of the invaders and that the in habitants left their homes and fled to the mountainous regions There were many such towns and villages peaceful and prosperous under Roman protection de stroyed or deserted after the departure of the Romans

The country-houses suffered a similar fate They were burned pillaged abandoned and the conquerors did not occupy them Some sites of Roman towns were again inhabited at a later period but the Roman town was destroyed and a new town grew up An example is found in Bath Before very long it became an important town but it was a new town The old Roman town has been excavated and many vestiges of the Roman occupation have been found but there are no traces of habitation in the period immediately after the Romans left There must have been an interval during which Bath ceased to be inhabited

All this means that the invaders who came to South Britain in the fifth century destroyed the civilization of the British Province as barbarian invaders destroyed Roman civilization elsewhere in Europe About the process of destruction and settlement we know very little We cannot tell exactly how or precisely when the Romans left We cannot tell the immediate results of their departure The Britons of the Province could not at first realize that Rome had gone and they asked for protection when the Roman Empire was no longer able to protect itself The Romans had protected the Province from two different kinds of enemies The great wall and its forts between Solway and Tyne had restrained the attacks of the fierce tribes who inhabited what is now Scotland On the south coast the power of Rome had defended the Province from the raids of Saxon pirates It was from the sea that the new danger came An early tradition asserts that the Britons invited the Saxons to help them against the Picts and Caledonians in the north and that the Saxons came to help and remained to conquer but we do not know whether this story represents the real facts or not All that we do know is that when the Romans were no longer there to beat off the pirate crews and when the fortresses which the Romans had built at Pevensey and other places on the south eastern and southern coasts ceased to be garrisoned with Roman soldiers the pirates

came not to make isolated raids but to seize the land They came from the country between the river Rhine and the Baltic Sea and they were Saxons and Angles and Jutes They had never been conquered by Rome and they were heathens and knew nothing about the Christian religion The civilization which they found in the Province meant to them only something to pillage and destroy

Marauding bands could not complete a conquest so swiftly as the trained Roman armies had done and the Britons made a brave resistance We know this because there is evidence that the conquest took a long time we do not know anything certain about the details The name of one British leader Arthur has come down to us and the stories of his deeds have inspired poets in many ages but we cannot definitely tell in what part of the island he fought The British resistance was ultimately overcome for the new invaders like the Romans were helped by geographical conditions when they attacked the great plain in the east and south of England and their bands were numerous and fierce Their descendants wrote down in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* an account of the conquest of Britain and this account contains names and dates of battles which used to appear in every history text book But this account was written long after the time to which it refers and historians have ceased to regard it as absolutely trustworthy There is so much the less to learn at this stage of the national history and it is sufficient for our purpose to know that between about the year 450 and about the year 600 barbarian and heathen tribes Angles and Saxons conquered the Roman Province Part of the south west Cornwall and Devon Wales Cumberland and the north—the frontiers of the Province and the regions behind the frontiers—were still British but the Romanized Province had passed away The towns had disappeared The large majority of the British inhabitants of town and village country house and cottage had been killed in battle or had been massacred or had

fled beyond the frontiers of the Province or had taken refuge overseas Some of them remained as the subjects of the new masters of the land but all that they had known and valued had gone—all or almost all There were doubtless influences of the old Roman-British world upon the English world that succeeded it the roads for example were there and must have been used But the first thing that the English did was to destroy as far as they could the heritage that the Romans had left The scholar who in recent years did most for the study of Roman Britain has told us that 'the Roman has passed from Britain as though he had never been He has left no name on hill or river he has not even bequeathed a few drops of Roman blood *

With the Anglo Saxon conquest we make therefore a new beginning If we want to find a definite date we may take the year 597 the date of the landing of the great Christian missionary St Augustine By the year 597 the invaders possessed the whole of the Province and by a victory which they gained at Deorham near Bristol in 577 they had penetrated to the Bristol Channel and so had driven a wedge between the British in Cornwall and Devon and the British in Wales By that time also the invaders had created a number of separate English kingdoms In the north were the two Angle kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira which became the kingdom of Northumbria and stretched along the east coast from the Firth of Forth to the Humber Farther south there were Angles in Lincolnshire Norfolk and Suffolk and in the Midlands, and there were Saxons in Essex and Middlesex Beyond the Thames was the important kingdom of Kent, the oldest of all the English kingdoms the South Saxons occupied Sussex and the West Saxons were establishing the great kingdom of Wessex, the capital of which came to

* F Haverfield *The Roman Occupation of Britain* The sketch of Roman Britain given in these pages is based on the late Professor Haverfield's book

be Winchester We do not know the boundaries of the various kingdoms nor even their exact number in the end of the sixth century The greatest of them was Kent though after the union of Bernicia and Deira by a royal marriage Northumbria under King Ethelfrith was constantly gaining fresh territory from the Britons and was increasing in importance About 613 Ethelfrith won a victory near Chester which separated the British in Wales from the British in Cumbria and Strathclyde

It was to Kent that the first missionaries came for the conversion of the new country of England The great Pope Gregory I before he became the Head of the Church had seen in the market place at Rome some fair haired boys exposed for sale as slaves and had asked whence they came The answer was that they came from a land ruled by Ælle (who was reigning over Deira the southern portion of North umbria) 'They shall sing Alleluia in Ella s country said Gregory who thought the youths so handsome that they might have been described as angels rather than Angles and when he was made Pope he determined to send a mis ion to convert England Ethelbert the King of Kent was a heathen but he had married a Frankish or French princess Bertha who came from a Christian land When St Augustine and his band of some forty missionaries landed in Thanet in the year 597 they could rely upon the protection of the queen and they attained a rapid succe.s King Ethelbert was converted and his people followed his example The conversion was too speedy to be thorough but the im mediate results were satisfactory and the Pope con ferred upon St Augustine the dignity and authority of Archbishop of England

Augustine soon learned that there was in the island a Christian Church whose members were not Englishmen but Britons The Britons had not done anything to convert their heathen conquerors for Christian influence had shared the fate of the rest of the heritage of Roman times But the Britons had retained their own faith

and they practised their religion in their own way Since the departure of the Romans they had been isolated and cut off from any communications with the Papacy and they maintained some old customs which the Roman Church had changed They kept Easter for example at a different date from that observed on the Continent St Augustine held a conference with a number of the British Christians and tried to persuade them to change these old customs and to come into obedience to the Papacy and to recognize his own authority as archbishop But the Britons had by this time been driven into Wales or the Welsh borders a very long way from Canterbury they hated the English and they chose to cling to their own independent customs Thus the old British Church had no share in the conversion of England

That conversion was however by no means solely the work of St Augustine and his missionaries The fortunes of English Christianity came to be associated with the growing northern kingdom Ethelfrith of Northumbria was defeated and slain by his brother in-law Edwin in 617 and Edwin became the greatest monarch in the island He ruled from the Forth to the Humber and his supremacy was acknowledged by the king of the East Angles and by the people of the Midlands who were gradually being organized into the kingdom of Mercia Edwin married a Christian princess She was a daughter of Ethelbert of Kent who had just died and her brother the Christian king of Kent allowed her to marry Edwin only on condition that she should be permitted to follow her own religion She was accompanied by a Roman priest Paulinus who at first was merely her chaplain Paulinus had been consecrated as a bishop in order that after converting the Northumbrians he might found an episcopal see at York After some time Paulinus converted Edwin and at a great meeting of the Witan, the leading men of Northumbria it was agreed that the kingdom should become Christian The new religion became fashionable

all over the north of England and also in East Anglia but the conversion was too sudden and Edwin's Christian kingdom soon succumbed to a great attack The leader of his enemies was Penda the heathen ruler of the Midland kingdom of Mercia and Penda had the help of the Welsh and of the Britons who inhabited Cumbria (the north west of England) and Strathclyde At the Battle of Heathfield or Hatfield near Doncaster in the year 633 Edwin was defeated and killed His wife and children fled to Kent Northumbria was again divided into the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira and the north of England relapsed into paganism

Then an unexpected event happened When Ethelfrith was killed by Edwin one of his sons named Oswald had taken refuge among the Scots The Scots were an Irish tribe who somewhere about the year 500 had settled in what is now the county of Argyll The other inhabitants of what came to be called Scotland were the Picts in the north the British in the region between the Firth of Clyde and the Solway and the Angles between the Forth and the Tweed The Scots coming from Ireland which had already been Christianized were a Christian people the Angles were heathen A famous missionary St Columba came to the small island of Iona in 563 and his disciples began to teach the Angles Oswald who went to Iona about 617 was educated by the Christian Scots The Irish and Scottish Churches did not deny the authority of the Papacy but they were out of touch with Rome and like the British Christians they had retained some customs which had been given up elsewhere and had adopted other customs of their own The Scottish Church was not organized into dioceses and it depended chiefly upon the evangelistic labours of monks who preached in the districts round their monasteries and owed obedience to their abbots Oswald returned to Northumbria soon after Edwin's death and he became the ruler of both Bernicia and Deira He did not have a long reign for he was killed in 642 in a battle with Penda but the eight

years of his rule were memorable in Northumbrian history

A Christian himself Oswald wished to restore Christianity in Northumbria The Church which he knew was not the Church of Canterbury but the Church of Iona, and Scottish missionaries the greatest of whom was St Aidan came to preach the gospel to the Northumbrians Their work was successful and it did not come to an end with Oswald's death Northumbria was divided again after that event but it was soon re-united under Oswy, a brother of Oswald who had also been brought up as a Scottish or Celtic Christian In 655 Oswy defeated Penda at the Battle of Winwaed near Leeds and Penda was killed in the fight He had spent a long life making war against Christians, in Northumbria in East Anglia, and wherever he went his death removed a great obstacle to the spread of the Christian faith Another great missionary came The south of England was brought to the feet of Christ by Augustine Much of his work had to be done again for there were traces of Christianity in Essex and even in Kent for the Church in Kent and in Essex was a direct offshoot of the Church which had been converted by Irish and Welsh missionaries who came from Ireland and Wales There was thus a great difference between the Church in the south and the Church in the north and if it had been perpetuated would have given a different character to English history, and probably have led to the union of England with Ireland rather than with France

The difficulty [illegible] in Northumbria was [illegible] famous princess [illegible] brought up [illegible] Roman Christianity [illegible] her king Edwin [illegible] country of the Angles from Christianity [illegible] to baptize him [illegible]

Whitby The Synod of Whitby was held in 664 and the Scottish clergy and the Roman clergy put forward their rival claims Oswy was much impressed by the argument of Wilfrid the leader of the Roman clergy that the Roman Church was the representative of St Peter who holds the keys of the kingdom of Heaven but this may not have been his real reason for deciding in favour of Rome and the Papacy He may have been influenced by his wife and he may also have been guided by the reflection that the Roman authority was acknowledged by the whole of Western Europe whereas the Celtic system was accepted only in Scotland and in Ireland Oswy s decision was final The Scottish clergy abandoned Northumbria and left it to the Roman ecclesiastics England was to be a part of the Roman Church and was to have only one form of ecclesiastical organization

This organization had still to be achieved The country had been converted in a haphazard way and there was no adequate system of dioceses upon which the administration of the Roman Church depended The work of dividing England into dioceses was accomplished by St Theodore of Tarsus an old man who came to England as Archbishop of Canterbury in 669 He did not like the old system created by accident by which there was one bishopric for each kingdom an arrangement which made the bishop dependent upon the king and he made new sees both in Northumbria and in Mercia In dividing up the great diocese of York which included both Bernicia and Deira he had to face opposition from Wilfrid but the division ultimately took place These ecclesiastical changes were of great political importance because the influence of the Church already very strong was increased by the new organization St Wilfrid though he differed from Theodore on some points was an equally strenuous supporter of the Roman obedience and it was largely through him that the Northumbrian monasteries which had been founded by the Scottish clergy and followed

some form of dependence upon them The chief interest in the troubled history of the period lies in the development of a tendency towards the union of the English kingdoms into the kingdom of England The English peoples possessed a common language but language is not in itself a bond of union They had also in common the great organization of the Roman Church but it cannot be said that the motive for union was supplied by the Church It is to be found rather in the ambitions of the tribal kings and perhaps the most important contribution made by the Church towards the unity of England was that within each kingdom it supported and strengthened the royal authority The mere fact that the See of Canterbury claimed and even exercised jurisdiction over several kingdoms did not in itself tend to unite these kingdoms any more than the papal authority which extended over the whole of Western Christendom succeeded in uniting the different European nations

Northumbria was too weak in the eighth century to try to dominate the rest of England and the struggle for supremacy was between Mercia and Wessex The first half of the century was indecisive but in 757 a great king succeeded to the Mercian throne and under Offa Mercia became the leading power in England He fought with and defeated the East Saxons the West Saxons and the Welsh and the earthwork which whether it existed before his time or not has continued to be known as Offa s Dyke came to mark the boundary between England and Wales It was through Offa that England first came into contact with European politics Calling himself by the proud title of King of England he negotiated both with the Pope and with Charlemagne King of the Franks and future Roman Emperor by far the mightiest sovereign of the day His correspondence with the Pope resulted in the temporary elevation of the See of Lichfield to the dignity of an archbishopric for Offa did not wish the clergy of the great kingdom of Mercia to be under the

Archbishop of Canterbury a subject of the petty king of Kent Charlemagne treated Offa as the monarch of England and asked him to prevent Englishmen from using pilgrimages to Rome as a pretext for conducting trade on the Continent Probably the respect which the great Frankish king showed to Offa was partly due to the influence of a famous English scholar a Northumbrian named Alcuin who lived at Charlemagne's court and advised him about the education of the youth of his kingdom We cannot however regard Offa as King of England or king of the English in our sense of the words By force of arms and later by marriage alliances he had made himself so powerful that none of the other kings dared to oppose him but England was not yet united and when Offa died in 796 the importance of Mercia rapidly decreased In the eighth century the English peoples had made little or no progress towards unity

With the ninth century (801–900) came the opportunity of Wessex Egbert a West Saxon king who in his youth had lived at the court of Charlemagne defeated the Mercians in 825 at a battle fought at a place called Ellandune the locality of which is unknown As a result of the victory the kingdoms which had acknowledged the supremacy of Mercia changed their allegiance The Mercians had been unpopular rulers and Egbert was hailed as a deliverer Before long he made Mercia itself a subject kingdom and Lichfield ceased to be an archbishopric and relapsed into its old position as a diocese in the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury Still it cannot be said that when Egbert died in 839 he had united England under Wessex The power of Wessex depended upon its possessing a great king and it was possible that, after Egbert's death the supremacy might pass away from Wessex as it had passed away from Mercia Fortunately it happened that Egbert was not only a great king but also the ancestor of a line of great kings who might have succeeded in bringing the whole of England into a single

kingdom without any extraneous help As it was they received the help of what was in itself the greatest misfortune that England has ever known The unity of England was to come by means of a long and terrible struggle for national existence

# CHAPTER III

## FROM THE DANES TO THE NORMANS

BEFORE Egbert's death in 839 a new series of piratical raids had begun to threaten the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms Long ago in the time of Offa bands of Scandinavians had made occasional attacks upon the English coasts and after a long interval they came again in the year 834 Four years later they were in alliance with the British of Cornwall but Egbert defeated them His son and successor Ethelwulf (839–58) found that a single victory was not to decide the fate of England The issue was a grave one The Scandinavians were heathens who regarded Anglo-Saxon England as the Anglo Saxons four hundred years earlier had regarded the Roman Province At first they were content with pillaging and burning towns and villages but as time went on they came in larger numbers and they began to make settlements There was a serious danger of a repetition of the Anglo-Saxon conquest—a Danish or Scandinavian conquest of England involving the destruction of the Christian civilization which the Anglo-Saxons had accepted The danger was great because in spite of the leading position which Wessex had attained England was not united Englishmen were ready to defend their own neighbourhood, and the kingdom to which they belonged when these were attacked but there was no national government to send an army wherever the Danes might land and no national

army which could be sent The enemy came by sea and could choose any region of the English coast for their invasion If England had been united the national government would have built and manned ships to meet them on the sea and prevent their landing but none of the kingdoms had a fleet to protect even its own coasts The Danes took full advantage of the opportunity afforded by their sea power In Ethelwulf's reign they attacked Wessex one year East Anglia another and Essex and Kent in a third and they were found in Northumbria and in Somerset on other occasions The local levies did their best with varying results but the Danes continued to come

Ethelwulf has the credit of one great victory In the year 851 the Danes came up the Thames and sacked London and Canterbury Ethelwulf although London was in the sub kingdom of Mercia rose to a great occasion and led a large army to meet the invaders who were defeated at a place generally identified with Ockley in Surrey The victory stopped for the time attempts at settlements of the Danes in England and gave some years of freedom even from raids and Ethelwulf felt himself free to go on a pilgrimage to Rome He took with him Alfred the youngest of the four sons who were to succeed him one by one upon the throne of Wessex The boy was only in his seventh year but it was his second visit to Rome and the experiences of his childhood help to explain his future career Ethelwulf died in 858 his eldest son Ethelbald reigned for two years and died and then with the accession of his brother Ethelbert (860–66) began the great attempt at a Danish conquest of England During Ethelbert's short reign the Danes attacked Wessex and Kent which by this time belonged to the kingdom of Wessex but in the year of his death they concentrated their energies upon the north and the east of England the region to which they were to give the name of the Danelaw

In 866 a great Danish army invaded East Anglia and spent the winter there The following year saw the

tragedy of Northumbria It had once again become disunited and although its rival monarchs made a conjoint effort against the enemy they were unable to save their country The Danes held York, and they destroyed and slaughtered without restraint Mercia gave no help to Northumbria and in 867 its own turn came The sub king of Mercia appealed to Wessex and Ethelred (866–71) the brother and successor of Ethelbert led an army northwards in 868 But all that resulted was a bargain with the enemy The Danes agreed to evacuate Mercia in 869 on condition of receiving a payment The money was paid and the pirates retired into Northumbria only to prepare for a fresh advance in 870 In that year they subdued East Anglia and murdered its young king Edmund who refused to buy his life by renouncing the Christian religion The memory of the martyr continued to be reverenced and the town of Bury St Edmunds bears his name The conquest of East Anglia was the prelude to a great attempt upon Wessex Early in 871 the Danes seized a strong position near Reading Ethelred and his brother Alfred defeated them in the Battle of Ashdown fought somewhere near Wantage in Berkshire but this victory was followed by a drawn battle The Danes were not subdued

At this moment Ethelred died and Alfred who had played a notable part at Ashdown became king He was twenty two years of age and he reigned for about thirty years (871–900) and is the only English sovereign known as "the Great The first event of his reign was a defeat at Wilton near Salisbury and after the defeat he made a bargain with the invaders and paid them money to leave Wessex alone Such bargains are generally condemned but their wisdom or folly depends upon circumstances and especially upon the use that is made of the respite thus purchased Wessex had put forth its full strength at Ashdown and had failed to save England There had been two defeats since Ashdown and Alfred knew that Wessex was not then capable of

saving herself A less wise man would have risked everything by seeking a decision at once Alfred could be bold when boldness was needed he had led a daring charge at Ashdown He knew that his ignominious bargain would not prevent the return of the enemy and further conflicts between English and Danes between Christians and heathen He made the bargain not in order to shirk a conflict but in order to prepare for a conflict He knew also that the Danes would use the interval to fight elsewhere and to strengthen their hold upon Mercia and Northumbria They did so use the five years during which Wessex enjoyed its purchased peace They established a vassal ruler of Mercia and they organized Northumbria from the Humber to the Tyne and also East Anglia as Danish provinces But even this was not without its advantage for the Danes who had settled on English soil did not wish to share their conquest with fresh bodies of invaders and the English coasts ceased to attract the constant succession of pirate bands that had followed each other in the last twenty years His predecessors had vanquished one horde only to meet another Alfred's task would be to defeat the Danes who had settled in England though it was possible that the English Danes might obtain help from overseas

The struggle which had been postponed in 871 began in 876 Wessex was then the only part of England where the Danes had no hold and they were determined to subdue it Alfred had doubtless made good use of the respite—we know that he had begun the creation of a navy to meet the invaders at sea—but five years were not sufficient for his purpose In 876 a great Danish force starting from the neighbourhood of Cambridge entered Wessex and penetrated as far south as Wareham in Dorset where it could receive reinforcements by sea Alfred besieged the Danish camp at Wareham but was not strong enough to attack it and the Danes succeeded in deceiving him In return for a fresh payment they agreed to leave Wareham but instead of going back to

the eastern counties they sent a large body of horsemen to Exeter Alfred pursued them but he was too late for they seized and fortified the town and he had to undertake a fresh siege The camp at Wareham was not evacuated until the beginning of the year 877 and when the Danes did leave they tried to send reinforcements by sea to Exeter but their vessels were wrecked in a storm The siege of Exeter continued until August Again Alfred was not strong enough to recover the town but he compelled the enemy to evacuate it without paying them a tribute Thus ended the campaign of 876–77 Alfred had won no victory and the Danes continued to establish their rule in Mercia and East Anglia and prepared for a fresh attack upon Wessex

This attack was made by a Danish leader called Guthrum It was a surprise attack for it took place at midwinter a time when campaigning was generally regarded as impracticable In January 878 a large Danish army took up a fortified position at Chippenham in Wiltshire and the effect of the sudden blow was so great that Alfred had to take refuge in the marsh land known as the Isle of Athelney near Taunton in Somerset, the region associated with the famous but ill authenticated story of the burnt cakes We must not however think of Alfred as a wandering fugitive during these months in the beginning of 878 he was the commander of an army which engaged from time to time in skirmishes with the Danes His army grew in numbers and in the spring he was able to advance from Athelney to meet the enemy in battle His courage was rewarded by a great victory won at a place named Ethandun generally identified with Eddington in Wiltshire and he drove the Danes back to their fort at Chippenham in which he was able to surround them They offered to surrender and Alfred accepted the offer The Danes were allowed to depart upon two conditions They agreed to evacuate Wessex and gave hostages for the fulfilment of their promise and Guthrum and his most

There was some fighting just after Edward's accession but it was not until 910 that the real struggle began Ethelflaed's husband died that year and Edward then detached London and the Thames valley from Mercia and added them to Wessex but the Lady of the Mercians continued to aid her brother and took a large part in the reconquest of the Danelaw By the time of her death in 917 the whole of the old kingdom of Mercia had been recovered including the five great Danish boroughs Stamford Lincoln Derby Nottingham and Leicester which had been the centres of the government of Danish earls Ethelflaed's work was done chiefly in the Midlands and the Welsh borders and Edward sometimes fought along with her and sometimes carried the war into East Anglia Essex and other portions of the country When she died he made the whole of Mercia part of his own kingdom of Wessex and he soon received the submission of the people of Northumbria both Danish and English and the King of the Scots made some sort of agreement with him in order to obtain his help against the Northmen The story of his wars is very intricate and difficult to follow and it is sufficient to remember that between 910 and 924 Edward the Elder became the monarch of the whole of England except Northumbria and that the Northumbrians acknowledged his supremacy

The first series of Danish wars may almost be said to have closed in 924 They left many notable effects The population of the country especially in the east and north had come to include a large number of Northmen the language which the invaders brought with them has left many traces in our place names and students of Anglo-Saxon law find in eastern England the influence exercised upon customs and institutions by an influx of Danes But the conversion of the foreigners to Christianity after Alfred's first treaty with Guthrum removed the danger of the development of a Danish nation occupying a large portion of English soil and the Danes gradually adopted the language as well as

the religion of England The very completeness of the Danish conquest proved to be a step in the direction of ultimate unity The royal families of the local kingdoms were destroyed by the ferocity of the conquerors and when Edward subdued the Danelaw he was able to treat the recovered districts as part of one English kingdom under the rule of the King of Wessex A further effect of these wars is probably to be found in the distribution of the Midland counties The shires in southern England represent distinctive settlements made in the course of the Anglo Saxon invasions and still bear for example the names of the East Saxons the Middle Saxons the South Saxons The Midland shires are known by the names of their county towns and it is probable that for example Oxfordshire Gloucestershire Leicestershire and Derbyshire were the districts which were defended by the garrisons of Oxford Gloucester Leicester and Derby Some of these places were fortified for this purpose by Alfred or Edward or Ethelflaed others had been fortified by Danish earls and were utilized by the English after the reconquest The district thus brought into connection with a town for military purposes became also a unit of civil administration and royal officials exercised the king s authority from what became the county town

When Edward died Northumbria was the only sub-kingdom still remaining His son Athelstan (924-40) almost immediately completed the work of his father and grandfather for in 926 he annexed Danish Northumbria and a district in the north which had remained English He renewed Edward s agreement with the Scots by which the House of Wessex had been recognized as the leader of a great combination against the Northmen the common enemy of the whole island We know very little about the rest of his reign and its most notable recorded event is the rupture of this agreement with the Scots The success and the greatness of Athelstan roused the alarm of the old King of Scots Constantine III The country between the Tweed and

the Firth of Forth was part of Northumbria and the Scots were always anxious to add it to the Scottish kingdom Constantine made an alliance with the Northmen against Athelstan who in 936 completely defeated Scots and Scandinavians in the Battle of Brunanburh generally believed to have been fought near the old Roman fortress of Birrens or Burnswark on the Solway Firth The victory confirmed the power of Athelstan and the greatness of the position he held as the undisputed monarch of England is illustrated by the circumstance that one of his sisters married the Emperor Otto I and another the French king Charles the Simple England was regarded as one of the great European kingdoms

Athelstan was succeeded by his brother Edmund a boy of eighteen He is known as Edmund the Magnificent but his short reign (940–46) was a period of turmoil The Danes seized the opportunity of the succession of a youth to throw off the English yoke and at first it seemed as if England were again to be divided into an English and a Danish kingdom But in 944 Edmund reconquered Northumbria and expelled the Danish claimants to the throne This was his one great achievement he seems to have been an able man but his career was cut short by an act of courage and self sacrifice While he was at meat in his own house an outlaw entered the room the steward tried to turn him out, the outlaw resisted Edmund went to his help and was killed in the scuffle His death was a great misfortune for England for his son was a child and the brother who succeeded him Edred (946–55) was in bad health The Danes once more rebelled and the nine years of Edred's reign were spent in subduing Northumbria This task was successfully accomplished and Edred's work did not have to be done over again He adopted the policy of leaving his Danish subjects to follow their own customs and did not try to impose English manners and laws upon them and they gradually became content to form part of the English kingdom

This was a fortunate settlement because Edred's death was followed by a division of the kingdom The new king was Edwy (955–59), the eldest son of Edmund the Magnificent He was a handsome and attractive boy of about fifteen but he fell under the influence of bad advisers and the Mercians and Northumbrians rebelled against him and chose a ruler of their own The remarkable thing is that they made choice not of a Dane, but of an Englishman—Edwy's younger brother Edgar who on Edwy's death, in 959 became king of the whole of England

Edgar (959–75) was the greatest king of the House of Wessex with the exception of Alfred He was called "the Peaceful" and in his time England was happy enough to have very little history except the record of the making of laws and the establishment of just rule and the reformation of abuses in Church and State Good laws for the whole land Edgar was determined to have, but so long as the laws were good and just he did not care whether they were English or Danish, and he allowed Danish England to follow its own customs He saw to it as Alfred had tried to do that the courts of justice all over the country administered the law intelligently and honestly and he made journeys through England to inquire if there was any oppression of the poor He was also much interested in the reform of the Church which had degenerated in the long struggle with the Danes In the endeavour to improve the condition of the Church and the lives of the clergy he was guided by his great minister Dunstan Abbot of Glastonbury and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury Dunstan had been the adviser of Edmund the Magnificent and of Edred he had been dismissed by Edwy and was restored to favour by Edgar The monasteries in England had long ago given up the rules laid down by the great St Benedict when he founded the Benedictine Order, and Dunstan helped the reformers who were trying to reintroduce these rules He followed Alfred's example in encouraging education and he punished secular

priests and monks who did not live good lives Edgar founded new English monasteries and he and Dunstan aimed at making England a religious as well as a peaceful country We have spoken of secular priests and it is necessary to remember the distinction between two different kinds of clergy The secular clergy were parish priests who lived in the world and were subject only to the rules laid down by the Church for all clergy The monks were clergy who lived not in the world or among the general population of the country but in the seclusion of a *monastery* and were subject to the special *Rule* of the Order of monks to which they belonged They were called Regulars because they lived under a Rule (Latin *Regula*) and they were also often described as Religious because they were devoted to a purely religious and not to a secular life and could not possess any individual property as a secular priest could do all possessions were held in common by the monks and no monk could call even a book or a pen his own Dunstan was a leader in a great revival of Christianity in England and was himself a man of noble and saintly character

The Golden Age of Edgar and Dunstan was long remembered in the evil days that followed Edgar was succeeded by his son Edward (975–78) a boy of thirteen His mother was dead and his stepmother wished to secure the throne for her own son Ethelred The ambition of this mischievous woman produced a civil war and in 978 she brought about the murder of the boy king who became known as Edward the Martyr The crime was successful for although Edward s murder was described as the worst deed done since the Angles first Britain land sought the accession of his half brother Ethelred was accepted without question He was a mere child and had no share in his mother s guilt but he was believed to ascend the throne with a curse upon him and his long and unhappy reign (978–1016) witnessed the ruin of the West Saxon monarchy and the establishment of a foreign dynasty He is known in history

as Ethelred the Unready or Ethelred the Redeless, the man without counsel or wisdom and his people complained that he did everything at the wrong time and in the wrong way The history of England is always closely connected with that of Europe as a whole and the troubles which came upon Ethelred followed the death in 973 of the Emperor Otto I His successors were much more interested in Italy than in Germany, and the Northmen who had been kept in check by Otto I were making fresh attacks upon the Continent In 980 they began a new series of piratical attacks upon England and the history of the earlier Danish wars repeated itself for these attacks developed into invasions The Danes won a victory at Maldon in Essex in 991 and Ethelred who was by this time a grown man paid them money to go away We have seen that Alfred took the same course but in Alfred's time such a device was necessary and he made good use of the respite thus ignominiously obtained A tribute should not have been necessary in Ethelred's day for England was united and had been a strong monarchy under Edgar and the gradual increase of the Danish attacks had given full warning of what was coming There were however limits to the unity of the kingdom for the old sub kingdoms though no longer independent were under their own Earls or Ealdormen and during the reign of a weak king the separate divisions of the country were certain to fail to act together This failure was illustrated by the defeat at Maldon neither before nor after the battle did the men of Essex receive help from their fellow-countrymen

The tribute raised by a tax known as Danegeld served only to encourage the marauders and in 994 two allied kings Olaf Tryggveson of Norway and Swegen of Denmark made an attempt to conquer England This attempt began with an attack upon London Ninety four ships were brought up the Thames and a great siege took place The resistance of the townsmen astonished the enemy and they had to give up their

hopes of making London the base for a conquest of England They sailed to the south coast and worked their wicked will in the devastation of Kent Sussex and Hampshire killing burning and plundering wherever horse could carry them Ethelred paid another large sum as tribute money and succeeded in making separate terms of peace with Olaf Tryggveson who made and kept a promise never to attack England again Swegen deserted by his ally returned to Denmark and Ethelred had two years of peace (995–97) which he failed to use In 997 the raids began again and the writer of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* who lived through this dreadful time tells us how every English effort came to grief The enemy was everywhere victorious often he says the fyrd or army was gathered together against them but instead of fighting it took to flight Raid followed raid tribute after tribute was extorted and in the year 1002 Ethelred driven to desperation massacred a large number of the Danes among his own subjects

Revenge was sure to follow and Swegen who had not been concerned in the raids since 995 made a series of expeditions which developed into a fresh effort to conquer England About the year 1006 there are signs that Swegen intended not merely to make ravages and exact tribute but to add England to his own dominions Between 1006 and 1013 he conquered a large part of the country London which successfully stood another great siege in 1009 held out against him until 1013 and became in the course of the struggle the centre of English life and feeling In 1013 the citizens again drove a great Danish army from the walls but the rest of the country submitted Ethelred fled to Normandy and London could not stand alone The city opened its gates to the conqueror and Swegen became King of England as well as of Denmark But England and Ethelred were given another chance for Swegen died unexpectedly in the beginning of 1014 leaving his son Canute or Cnut to fight for the crown he had won The great men of

England, meeting in the Witan or Assembly of Wise Men an assembly exercising some of the powers which later came to belong to Parliament asked Ethelred to return and to give them a promise of better government Canute went to Denmark to secure the Danish throne Ethelred came to England and broke his promise When he died in 1016 he had done nothing to save the country and Canute with a large Danish army was again in the land The heir to the throne was Ethelred's son Edmund who had already raised a force to meet the enemy and the Londoners proclaimed him king Canute began a siege of London and the citizens successfully defended their homes as they had done in 994 and in 1009 Edmund whose courage and skill gained for him the name of Edmund Ironside came to the rescue of the Londoners defeated the Danes at Brentford and raised the siege but he had to lead his army to fight elsewhere and the Danes made another unsuccessful attempt to capture the town

English hopes which centred in Edmund and in London were soon disappointed Edmund was defeated at Assandun now called Ashington, in Somerset He was still strong enough to induce the Danes to make terms with him and at a place then called Alney or Olney near Deerhurst in Gloucestershire on the banks of the Severn Edmund and Canute made a treaty by which they were to divide England between them as Alfred and Guthrum had done long before The Danes were to have Northumbria and part of Mercia and Edmund was to rule Wessex Essex East Anglia and the rest of Mercia Some weeks after this treaty was made Edmund Ironside died at Oxford leaving the memory of one who might have been a great king and the deliverer of his country

The English were thus deprived of their leader and they submitted to Canute There were three sons of Ethelred still alive One of them a boy of eighteen was put to death by Canute the other two the children of Ethelred's second wife Emma of Normandy were

under the care of their mother's Norman kindred Edmund Ironside had left two infant sons who were sent as far away as Hungary where they were protected and educated Canute resolved to rule not as a foreign conqueror but as an English king He married Emma of Normandy the widow of Ethelred and she is the only woman who has been the wife of two successive kings of England After he had established his authority he sent the Danish army back to Denmark and he chose English advisers to carry on the government The most famous of them was Godwine who became Earl of Wessex and was Canute's chief minister Although he was King of Denmark as well as of England he rarely went there and was much more interested in English than in Danish affairs Canute was a young barbarian who was deeply impressed by the higher civilization which he found in his new kingdom and he did not want to introduce the Danish customs which he despised or to give the Danes lands which were held by the English He was a hot tempered man and at the beginning of his reign he was guilty of some very cruel deeds of which he afterwards repented telling his people that he was determined to amend his life and to be a just and religious king He restored the laws that had been made in the time of Edgar and he was a much better ruler than Ethelred had been Thus England was fortunate in its only Danish conqueror It became the centre of a great northern empire but it remained English and its history was peaceful until Canute died in 1035 aged about thirty seven

His death was followed by a civil war between two of his sons Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut The latter the son of Canute and Emma was regarded as the heir of both Denmark and England but he was in Denmark when his father died and his half brother Harold Harefoot claimed the crown and reigned until he died in 1040 although part of England supported Harthacnut In the course of this struggle Alfred a son of Ethelred and Emma landed in England with a small force and

was treacherously murdered The crime was attributed to Godwine who supported the Danes After the death of Harold Harefoot, his brother Harthacnut reigned for two years He gave every indication of proving a bad king, and his death in 1042 was a relief to the country With him ended the Danish line

# CHAPTER IV

## THE NORMANIZATION OF ENGLAND

THE last king of the House of Wessex came to the throne in 1042 After the death of Harthacnut Earl Godwine espoused the English cause and the Witan chose as king the surviving son of Ethelred and Emma His name was Edward and in course of time his pious life earned for him the title by which he is known to history —Edward the Confessor In spite of the fact that Godwine was suspected of the murder of the king's brother Alfred the influence of the earl was so great that Edward though he never liked him took him as his chief adviser and married his daughter Godwine had been the English minister of Canute and he was now to be the English minister of a king who though English by name and descent was more of a foreigner than Canute had been Edward was half Norman by birth and wholly Norman by education He had been sent to Normandy as a child to seek the protection of his mother's brother Duke Richard After Richard's death he had lived at the court of another uncle Duke Robert and he was a friend of Robert's son William who though of illegitimate birth became Duke of Normandy in 1035 Edward had not shown himself a patriotic Englishman for he had come to England as the guest of Harthacnut and he was in the country when Harthacnut died From the beginning of his reign he set himself to make England as like Normandy as he could and he

invited his Norman friends to England and gave them high positions in Church and State

At first Godwine was able to place a check upon the king but one of his sons who had been given an earldom was guilty of some shameful deeds and the earl's influence began to wane In 1051 Edward seized an opportunity of getting rid of his minister One of the king's Norman relatives came on a visit and his followers had a fight with the townsmen of Dover which was in Godwine's earldom of Wessex Godwine was instructed to burn the town he refused to do so took up arms and was outlawed as a rebel He and his sons had to flee their earldoms were given to others and Normans received important posts in Church and State Among the Normans who visited England during Godwine's absence was the king's cousin William Duke of Normandy who afterwards asserted that while he was a guest in England, the childless Edward had promised him the succession to the English throne No sovereign of England has ever had the right of leaving the crown by will and the Confessor's promise if it was given could not remove the powers of the Witan to choose from the English Royal House an heir to the kingdom

William went home again to return on a later day and Norman influence in England soon underwent an unexpected eclipse Godwine and his son Harold raised a small force landed in England and received so much support that Edward was forced to take them into favour The Normans who had come during Godwine's absence were dismissed and Godwine was again supreme He died in April 1053 a year after his return and Harold took his father's place and for thirteen years was the ruler of England As the Confessor grew older the problem of the succession came to be much in men's minds In 1057 the natural heir to the crown came to England on the king's invitation He was Edward known as the Exile the son of Edmund Ironside and he had been brought up in Hungary But he died immediately after his arrival and his son Edgar was a child The

death of Edward the Exile probably suggested to Harold an ambition to become the founder of a new English dynasty and he like William of Normandy claimed that the Confessor had promised him the succession A few years later a great misfortune befell him He was wrecked on the French coast and fell into the hands of the Duke of Normandy who made him take an oath to support his claim to the English succession Harold whose life was at William s mercy swore that he would be William s liegeman and the public opinion of the time made no allowance for a man who took an oath under constraint

In his last years Edward the Confessor was engaged in rebuilding the Abbey of St Peter at Westminster then not in but near London Both Canute and Edward preferred London to Winchester the capital of the kings of the House of Wessex and the gallant and determined part played by the Londoners in the Danish wars of Ethelred s reign had made Englishmen look to it rather than to Winchester as the centre of the national life it was also the richest commercial town in the country Edward had a royal residence at Westminster and his piety restored the Abbey beside his palace The new church was consecrated in December 1065 but its founder was too unwell to be present On 5th January 1066 he died committing his realm to Harold s care Undeterred by the oath which had been forced from him Harold had made the necessary preparations for his own accession nobody championed the cause of the boy Edgar the son of Edward the Exile for nobody wanted the troubles of a minority At a hastily summoned meeting of the Witan Harold Godwineson Earl of Wessex was chosen as king and he was crowned on the day after the Confessor s death

William of Normandy denounced the new king as a perjured usurper and at once began to prepare to seize the crown which he said had been promised him The nobles of Normandy and of other French provinces eager for the spoils of England came to his support

The Pope blessed his enterprise partly on the ground of Harold's perjury and partly because the See of Canterbury was held, under Harold's protection by an archbishop Stigand who was not recognized by the Papacy William's preparations occupied a period of nine months during which Harold was not idle but his efforts were frustrated by a series of misfortunes His brother Tostig, Earl of Northumbria had been guilty in 1064 of some treacherous murders and had been deposed by King Edward with Harold's approval He fled to the protection of his brother in law Baldwin V Count of Flanders Baldwin was the father in law of William of Normandy and he encouraged Tostig to revenge himself upon Harold Tostig made an alliance with Harold Hadrada of Norway and they invaded Northumbria in the summer of 1066 The invasion took Harold of England by surprise but he at once marched northwards with the army which he had assembled to resist the Normans and he defeated the enemy in a fiercely fought battle at Stamford Bridge near York on 25th September

Three days afterwards William helped by a favourable wind landed his host at Pevensey An English fleet had long been watching for the enemy but it had been compelled to return to London for provisions and the Normans met no opposition at sea Harold led his victorious but tired army to fight the Normans A further misfortune befell him The two northern earls Edwin and Morcar who had succeeded to the dominions of Tostig and whose possessions Harold had saved at Stamford Bridge delayed their southward march and Harold after waiting a few days in London had to go to meet William without them William was at Hastings and the battle was fought on a hill about six miles inland on a site then unnamed but afterwards occupied by the abbey and village of Battle Harold was an able general, but his army suffered a complete defeat at the Battle of Hastings on 14th October 1066 and he and two of his brothers were killed in the fighting Thus the

English were left without a leader and the country was at William's mercy

When the news reached London the Witan chose the boy Edgar the Atheling as the successor to the crown and the Londoners prepared to resist the Duke of Normandy He marched to Southwark but did not attempt to cross the Thames in face of the opposition of the citizens preferring to wait until the hopelessness of further resistance was evident to the city Edwin and Morcar had reached London, but they went home at once with their armies and with their retreat the last English hopes vanished William who had already seized Winchester moved along the Thames to Wallingford where he crossed He spent some weeks devastating the country until in December the Londoners sent men to him to render the submission of the city and to make an offer of the crown Among the messengers was Edgar himself On Christmas Day the Duke of Normandy was crowned King of England and the process of Normanization which had begun under the Confessor was now to be continued until it changed many aspects of English life Nearly a century had passed since the death of the great Edgar and in that long time the House of Wessex had failed to produce a capable sovereign The misfortune of the renewal of the Danish attacks had not persuaded the English people of the necessity of unity Northumbria was still a more or less independent province and the growth of the system of great earldoms under Canute and the Confessor had given fresh force to the disruptive elements in the country England was still great enough to absorb in course of time its Norman conquerors, but it was not great enough to make the united effort necessary to prevent the conquest

The whole of the south of England except the south western counties was in William's power by the end of 1066 the new king, though he professed to reign not as a conqueror but as the lawful successor of the Confessor was the leader of a band of adventurers who expected rewards for their services at Hastings As

the legitimate sovereign of England he could not propose to dispossess all the English landowners and to give their estates to his own followers and he accepted the homage of Englishmen who had not fought against him generally exacting a payment for the confirmation of their rights There remained the lands belonging to the Crown, and those which had been in the possession of the men who, according to William s theory of the Conquest had fought as rebels for the usurper Harold The lands of his enemies William confiscated and divided among his friends and the extent of confiscated territory was greatly increased within the next few years In the south west the city of Exeter resisted him and William besieged and took it early in 1067 and confiscated a large amount of land in Devon and almost the whole of Cornwall In 1068 and 1069 there were revolts in the north where the English received assistance from Danish invaders In part of this region William was not content with confiscating lands Losing his temper after a series of what he regarded as treacherous rebellions, he wasted the whole country between York and Durham slaughtering without mercy men and women and sheep and cattle destroying the farmhouses and the implements used for the cultivation of the soil He secured peace by making a desert and many years elapsed before this part of England recovered from the Harrying of the North a crime which even his Norman admirers recognised as a stain upon his rule and his memory While the deed was done in the eod of 1069 William subdued the Welsh borders and the conquest of England was almost completed Only East Anglia remained and there the English led by Hereward whose name became famous to later generations as Hereward the Wake adopted in 1070 the policy of a Danish army which had succeeded in the north The Danes sacked and burned Peterborough and went away again and Hereward and a band of outlawed English and Danes established themselves in the marshes known as the Isle of Ely and William captured that stronghold in 1074

The confiscations of land between 1066 and 1074 introduced into England a new aristocracy or upper class of society Men of Norman French and Flemish families who had joined William in his great adventure became the land owning nobility of England and they were so much more numerous and important than the survivors of the English land-owning class that during many years to come the use of the Norman French language was regarded as a sign that the speaker belonged to the upper classes while English was the speech of the middle and lower classes There was inevitably a bitter feeling between Normans and English and at first the peace of the country was disturbed by murders of Normans William suppressed such attacks by making a law that when the body of a murdered man was found the neighbourhood was to pay a heavy fine unless it could be proved that the victim was an English man and not a Norman Ill will between English and Normans was at its height in the reigns of William I and William II it decreased under Henry I and it had ceased to be of any political importance in the reign of Henry II But Norman-French long remained the language of the king and the nobility and also of the law courts

The greatest change introduced by the Norman Conquest apart from the establishment of a new noble or governing class was the increase of the royal power William had possessed in his Duchy of Normandy an authority which no Saxon king had ever enjoyed over the whole of England and he was determined to destroy the English tendency towards local and provincial independence and to make the whole country obey the king s rule and the king s law The method of land tenure in England as in other countries of Western Europe made the realization of such an ambition very difficult Land tenure was much more important then than it is to day because land and the stocks of sheep and cattle which fed upon land and the products of the soil were almost the only source of wealth There was no great com

mercial class and the merchants who made money in the towns liked to invest their gains in land It was on his relationship to land that a man s social position depended and also his political rights and obligations The only exception was in the boroughs which stood outside the general social organization of the rest of the country and the population of the boroughs was in proportion to the whole population infinitely smaller than it is to day

The land was divided into estates known as Manors The land owner or lord of the manor kept a portion of the estate in his own hands and the remainder was held by tenants of various social grades, whose holdings might be large or small Most of the tenants in addition to paying rent in money or in produce were bound to render services in the domain the portion of the estate cultivated by the lord of the manor and the lowest tenants were serfs who could not leave the land without the permission of the manorial lord or his steward Each manor had its own unwritten customs which were loyally observed and this customary law protected even the serf against an unwarranted increase of his burdens This system of land holding was in existence in England when the Normans came and they made little change in it What they did do was to build up upon the system of land tenure the methods of government and administration which are generally described as feudal This tendency which would probably have developed in Anglo Saxon England if the century preceding the Conquest had been less disturbed was especially important in connection with taxation and with the administration of justice

Apart from payments made by the boroughs the main sources of taxation were sums of money paid by the owners of manors They held their estates directly from the king and were known as tenants in chief They paid sums of money varying with the extent of their estates when the king knighted his eldest son when he gave his eldest daughter in marriage or when

the king was a prisoner and had to be ransomed Each tenant in chief also paid a sum of money known as a relief when he succeeded to his property if he died leaving a minor as his heir the king had the right of drawing the revenues of the property during the minority after making provision for the maintenance of the boy if the heir was a daughter the king selected her husband and might sell her to the highest bidder if there was no heir the property reverted to the Crown as an escheat The lord of a manor made similar exactions upon his own higher tenants and received payments of other kinds from his lower tenants but he alone was responsible for the sums due to the Crown from the whole of his estates Thus taxation was for the most part derived by the Crown from lords of manors though when the king's demands pressed heavily upon the tenants in chief they in turn made heavy demands upon the under tenants

Lords of manors received from the Crown the right of doing justice in their own estates and tenants of great lords were tried not in the old English court of the shire the head of which was the sheriff a royal official but in the manorial courts in which the president was the steward or other representative of the lord of the manor It did not follow that in disputes between tenants of the manor the decision was simply what the lord or the steward happened to wish, the tenants were protected by the customary laws of the manor But this customary law was not the law of the land and the court in which it was administered was not a national court Thus those who lived as tenants of a manor—and they formed a very large proportion of the people of England—looked to the lord of the manor rather than to the king as their ruler and judge Those of them who were subject to the obligation of military service owed that service not to the Crown but to the lord from whom they held their land He was responsible for supplying a certain number of fighting men for the king's service but the men themselves

owed their obligation to him and not directly to the Crown

William encouraged the use of land tenure as a basis of government, because it was a convenient method of collecting revenue administering justice and raising an army He was well aware of its danger—the danger that England might become a series of lordships each governed by its own lord in practical independence of the central government The failure of the Anglo Saxons to attain unity had been partly due to the great earldoms into which England had been divided William did not continue this system, except in a few instances, the most important of which were Chester and Durham These were known as the palatine or border earldoms and the earls were given exceptional powers in order that they might protect the borders or marches against the Welsh and the Scots The Bishop of Durham for example, held the earldom and combined his ecclesiastical duties with great political responsibilities Elsewhere the title of earl was a mere dignity and involved no political power The greatest of the new Norman landowners could not boast that he wielded authority over a large part of England as Godwine had governed Wessex The Norman Conquest had been gradual and William had bestowed lands upon his followers as one district after another fell into his hands The great estates were therefore scattered in different parts of the country but as it was some of the followers of the Conqueror held possessions so great as to be dangerous to the Crown and intermarriages between great families led to the accumulation of estates by a single landowner

William did many things in the course of his reign to counteract the power of the great barons The most famous was the preparation in 1086 the last year of his life of a survey of all the land in the country He sent commissioners throughout England to inquire into the ownership of every manor its size the number of freemen and the number of serfs who lived upon it and the

stock of cattle which it contained This great record known to posterity as Domesday Book was compiled in order that every manor might be compelled to pay its due share of taxation and that the king might receive the money necessary for the government of the kingdom At the same time William revived a custom by which every landowner great and small took an oath of allegiance and obedience to the king There was a great ceremony of this kind on Salisbury Plain in the summer of 1086 and the Oath of Salisbury as it was called reminded the smaller landowners that they were under obligations to the Crown as well as to the great lords from whom they held their estates One of these obligations was military service in what was known in Anglo Saxon times as the fyrd and in later days as the militia In the last resort in times of special danger the king had the right of summoning every freeman to his army and this right proved to be of great advantage in some of the baronial rebellions which we shall have to mention

The royal authority was also maintained by the powers entrusted to the sheriff of each county The court of the shire over which the sheriff presided was an Anglo-Saxon institution and William did not interfere with it Every sheriff was a royal official the representative of the Crown in his county and the Norman kings extended his powers It became his duty to administer justice in the local court to collect the royal revenues to see that the freemen possessed the arms which they would require if the king called out the militia and to secure that men who did not own land should find some person or persons to be responsible for them This was known as the system of frank pledge Every man unless he was a landowner or owned allegiance to a lord who would answer for him had to enter into a bond with a group of other men If he was accused of any crime the rest of the group had to find him and bring him to justice or to pay a heavy fine Frank pledge was a development from an

Anglo Saxon legal custom, and it illustrates a tendency of William s government He interfered as little as possible with local administration while he tried to bring the central administration entirely under his own direct rule The grant of judicial powers to lords of manors to which we have already referred did to some extent interfere with the local administration of justice but such grants had not been unknown under the Anglo Saxons and William and his successors were always trying to assert the supremacy of royal justice over all other courts and to give sheriffs and royal judges the right of interfering with the jurisdiction of manorial courts

After the revolt of Hereward in 1070–74 William had no further troubles from English rebellions but in 1075 he had to suppress some Norman barons who rebelled during his absence in Normandy and the King of Scots Malcolm Canmore who had married a sister of Edgar the Atheling the heir of the Anglo Saxon royal house made some expeditions into the north of England William came to terms with Malcolm and gave him some land in England for which he did homage to the English king and it was uncertain whether this homage was done for these English possessions alone or for the crown of Scotland itself William had more serious troubles than Malcolm s ravages His half brother, Odo Bishop of Bayeux in Normandy whom he had made Earl of Kent was suspected of conspiring against him and was arrested in 1082 and kept prisoner during the rest of the king's life There were rebellions in Normandy where William s eldest son Robert opposed his father and made an alliance with the French king Philip I with whom the Duke of Normandy was constantly engaged in border warfare It was while he was engaged in one of these conflicts that William died at Rouen in the summer of 1087

Perhaps no single man has left a deeper impression upon English history than William the Conqueror as later generations described him—he called himself

William the Claimant for he claimed the throne not as a conqueror but as the heir of the Confessor It has often been debated whether the Norman Conquest was a blessing or a misfortune for England and the general verdict of historians has been that it was not a misfortune The Anglo Saxon monarchy after the time of Edgar had failed in the first duty of kingship in those days—namely the establishment of a strong central power Under Ethelred England had lost the impulse towards unity and firm government which had been given by Edgar The rule of Canute had been strong and firm but when the English line was restored the weakness of Edward the Confessor had produced a return to provincial independence The first Danish invasions had been utilized by Alfred and Edward the Elder as a means of establishing a real kingdom of England but the later Danish invasions had found the English people divided and bereft of any strong leadership If Edmund Ironside had lived the course of events might have been very different but his early death removed the one strong man in the later generations of the House of Wessex Harold was a strong man and a good soldier but he was not the heir to the crown and he belonged to a family which had made many enemies No one can tell whether if Harold had been victorious at Hastings he could have overcome the many difficulties both internal and external which would have faced the first sovereign of a new English dynasty As it was England received in the person of the Duke of Normandy one of the greatest of her kings

The firmness and the strength of William's rule impressed even those who might be expected to hate him When he died the writer of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* described him in some remarkable words

This King William was a very wise and a great man and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors He was mild to those good men who loved God but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will He was a very stern and a

wrathful man so that none durst do anything against his will and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure The good order that William established is not to be forgotten it was such that any man who was himself aught might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold unmolested and no man durst kill another however great the injury he might have received from him' This English writer did not love William and the English had their grievances against him Taxation was very heavy 'he took from his subjects many marks of gold and many hundred pounds of silver and this sometimes with and sometimes without right and with little need he caused castles to be built and oppressed the poor The preparation of Domesday Book was a great grievance because the information it contained gave William opportunities for taxing his subjects and a king seemed to be very mean and avaricious when he wanted to know about every cow and every pig in the land Another great grievance lay in the laws made by William for the protection of the royal forests in which he hunted Canute had issued stern warnings to poachers in his forests and William made more forests and "enacted laws so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father His great hunting ground was in Hampshire it was called the New Forest because it was new in William's day more than eight hundred and fifty years ago and it still bears that name Later generations told how William laid waste a large tract of inhabited and cultivated ground to make this forest and he is sometimes said to have been as wicked and cruel in devastating Hampshire as we know him to have been in destroying Northumberland But the stories which grew up in the next generation seem to have been exaggerated The real grievance was the severity of the laws of the Forest in the time of William and his successors The great stain upon his reputation is the

" Harrying of the North a deed about which one of his Norman admirers remarked that he would one day have to answer for it before the Great Judge of all men

The Norman Conquest brought to England more things than a strong ruler a very wise and a great man England had been isolated from the general current of European life and thought and the Conquest brought it into touch with the Continent This effect is specially notable in connection with the Church which in spite of the personal piety of Edward the Confessor had become lax and corrupt in a troubled and badly governed land New Norman bishops and new Norman abbots brought a reforming zeal into their dioceses and monasteries forced the clergy both secular and regular to obey the Rules which had been falling into neglect and made the Church much more powerful in the life of the nation social and political alike The eleventh century had seen a great religious revival on the Continent and in this revival England had not yet shared. The building of new churches and the foundation of new monasteries which followed the Conquest brought England into line with the rest of Western Europe and many of the new monasteries were closely connected with great religious houses in France The revival of monastic and clerical life was accompanied by a fresh interest in learning though the literary works of the time were written not in the English language which was then unfashionable but in Norman French or in Latin

# CHAPTER V

## THE ANGLICIZATION OF THE NORMANS—I

THE Norman Conquest had given England a strong ruler a man of whom it was said that his subjects "must will all that the king willed if they wished to live or to keep their possessions It had also brought to England new methods of government and administration by which William and his successors could make their will known and punish those who defied it On the other hand it had introduced a new class of land owners some of whom were determined to defy the king's will These Norman or French barons regarded their English estates as payment for the service which they had rendered in the invasion of 1066 and they were not prepared to settle down as obedient subjects Canute had recognized the danger of retaining in England the army with which he had conquered the kingdom and when his throne was secure he had sent it back to Denmark He was able to do so because he was king of Denmark and the army was the national army and bound to obey his commands But William was in a different position Many of his followers were not Normans and all of them had followed him on condition of sharing in the spoils of England He could not send them back again when he had subdued the English people and we have seen that he had to take severe measures against some of them Under his suc

cessors there was almost continuous trouble from this source for many years

The eldest son of the Conqueror was Robert the second was William whose red face gave him the nick name of Rufus Robert had been a rebellious son and the dying Conqueror though he did not propose to dis inherit him altogether wished that he should be merely Duke of Normandy and that William should become King of England William left his father s deathbed to secure the crown and he had the support of the Church guided by Lanfranc a great Norman ecclesiastic who had succeeded the Saxon Stigand as Archbishop of Canterbury William the Red King (1087–1100) obtained the throne without opposition but he soon had to face a rebellion The Norman barons preferred Robert for two reasons His character was not so strong as that of William and his rule would be less severe In the second place the barons who held lands both in England and in Normandy naturally preferred to have one overlord rather than two If Robert of Normandy and William of England were to quarrel they could not be loyal to both and they would be in danger of losing their possessions in one of the two countries The rebellion of 1088 was widespread but it was suppressed comparatively easily and William s success in dealing with it was due to the support of the Church and of the English people upon whom his father had also relied

The Red King s conduct soon alienated both the clergy and the English people Lanfranc died in 1089 and William in accordance with the custom of the time drew the revenues of the see during the vacancy He abused his rights by keeping the see vacant for some years until in 1093 he had a dangerous illness which produced a temporary penitence for his evil deeds In this frame of mind he begged a famous theologian Anselm Abbot of Bec to accept the archbishopric and St Anselm unwillingly consented Scarcely had he done so when he found himself in conflict with the king William possessed a right at that date unquestioned in

England though the cause of warfare on the Continent This was the power of appointing bishops and abbots without the necessity of seeking ecclesiastical sanction and it was used as a pretext for keeping such offices vacant in order that the revenues might be enjoyed by the Crown St Anselm protested against this practice and he had other quarrels with William about the privileges of the Church which had become much more powerful since the Conquest William II resented the influence of the Church and wished to bring it under the complete control of the monarchy Finally Anselm after a long conflict asked the royal permission to go to Rome to consult the Pope The king was specially incensed against him at the time because the knights whom as a great landowner the archbishop was bound to send to the royal army for an expedition against the Welsh were very badly equipped Permission was refused The archbishop insisted upon going and the king threatened to confiscate the possessions of the See of Canterbury Anselm went William carried out his threat and Anselm was in exile from 1097 until the king s death

While his treatment of St Anselm and his practice of enriching himself through ecclesiastical vacancies offended the clergy William was also becoming hated by the people He was very greedy and the taxation which had been a cause of complaint in his father s reign was heavier than ever The name of his minister Ranulf Flambard was hated for the methods by which he extorted taxes from all classes of the population Not only did he strain the law to secure larger payments than were reasonably due to the king he also degraded the judicial powers of the Crown by taking money from suitors in the courts and by selling pardons to criminals The Conqueror had been cruel and stern but his avarice and severity had generally been employed for the righteous purpose of maintaining order and providing good government The Red King also succeeded in maintaining order and he was strong enough

to suppress without difficulty a second rebellion of the Norman barons in 1095 But he did not try to give good government in return for obedience and for the taxes which he took his aim was rather to use the machinery of government as a means of extorting money

Why did William Rufus want so much money? The answer to this question is that his great ambition was to add Normandy to his dominions Robert of Normandy his elder brother was a weak ruler and he had intrigued with the barons who made the rebellion in England in 1088 After that rebellion was over William made war in Normandy but came to terms with his brother in 1092 Within two years they were again fighting in Normandy but the war was indecisive and it ultimately led to a famous bargain In the year 1096 all Europe was stirred by an appeal made by Pope Urban II for a great Christian army to go to the Holy Land and rescue the tomb of our Lord from the infidel Turks Robert of Normandy was deeply moved by this call of the East but to go on crusade cost money and he had no money William agreed to pay him a large sum on condition that he should receive the Duchy of Normandy as a pledge for repayment The money was raised by a tax upon all the land in England Robert departed upon the First Crusade and William became the ruler of Normandy This bargain did not end the war for William renewed his father's quarrel with the French king about the boundaries of the Duchy

In spite of the tyranny and oppression of his reign the throne of the Red King was never in danger but the news of his death when he was still well under fifty came to his subjects as a welcome relief On an August day in the year 1100 he was hunting in the New Forest and was killed almost instantaneously by an arrow From whose bow that arrow came no man can tell perhaps no man ever knew for it was probably an accident Contemporaries regarded the event as a judgment from heaven for William had shocked the

conscience of the time not only by his deeds but also by his boastful and often blasphemous words His pride seemed to his subjects to be the kind of pride that goes before a terrible and dramatic fall When they murmured about the expense which he incurred in building Westminster Hall on a vast scale he replied that he would build a palace so huge that the great Hall would be but a modest bedchamber in it and his people compared his pride and ambition to that of Herod and looked upon his sudden end as a fitting punishment

When William II died his brother Robert had not yet returned from the crusade and could not put forward a claim to the English crown William had never married he is the only bachelor king of England except for Edward V and Edward VI who both died before reaching maturity But there was a third brother Henry who had been born after his father became King of England and on English soil He had been hunting with William II on the day of his death and when he heard of the accident he went at once to Winchester still officially the capital of England and demanded admission to the treasury as the heir to the crown Three days later Henry I (1100–35) was crowned in Westminster Abbey, and he at once issued and sent to every county in England a charter or grant of privileges, in which he promised to amend the abuses of his brother's government He imprisoned Ranulf Flambard and filled bishoprics and abbacies which had been kept vacant He invited Archbishop Anselm to return to England An English born king he understood the value of the support which the English people had given to his father and also to his brother at the date of his accession and he married an English wife She was the daughter of Malcolm Canmore King of Scots and of Margaret the sister of Edgar the Atheling and she brought the blood of Alfred the Great and his successors to the new royal house which already could claim kinship with the old Saxon line through Matilda of Flanders the wife of the Conqueror The Norman

nobles were angry but Henry persisted in his intention though he changed the queen's name from English Edith to Norman Matilda and the marriage marks an early stage in the long process which was to convert the Norman conquerors into Englishmen

The reconciliation with the Church which gave Henry strength at the beginning of his reign was interrupted by a fresh dispute When Anselm returned to England he brought with him a new demand Hitherto England had not been affected by a great struggle which was raging on the Continent the struggle known as the Investiture Conflict This controversy arose out of the double position of bishops and abbots They were not only ecclesiastical dignitaries but also and in virtue of their ecclesiastical positions great landowners holding baronies from their sovereigns The Pope held that men who were to administer dioceses ought to be chosen by him or by the Church with his consent and the king insisted that no ecclesiastic should become a great land owner without his sanction When a bishop was appointed he received or was invested with a ring and a pastoral staff as symbols of his office and it was an important question who should invest him with these symbols In England William I and William II had both chosen and invested the bishops but when Anselm returned from exile he refused to accept these symbols from Henry I or to do homage to him as a baron of the kingdom He did so because the Papacy supported by a General Council of the Church had declared that the sanction of the Pope was required for the appointment of a bishop and that he must be invested by ecclesiastical and not by lay hands Henry made several efforts to reach a compromise but in vain and at last Anselm went to Rome in 1103 to discuss the question with the Pope Three years elapsed before he returned The Pope declined to yield and Anselm could not go home while he was unwilling to comply with the king's demands An agreement was reached in 1106 and confirmed in 1107 Henry abandoned his claim to invest

a bishop or archbishop with ring and pastoral staff the symbol of spiritual rule but he retained the right of appointment subject to ecclesiastical advice, and also the right of receiving the homage of the new bishop A controversy which cost much bloodshed in Germany was settled in England without any fighting

Henry had many reasons for desiring friendship with Anselm One of them was that the archbishop spent his years of exile in Normandy where he was greatly revered and Henry wished to have the allegiance of the Normans His brother Duke Robert had returned to Normandy a few weeks after the death of Rufus and some restless and ambitious Norman barons in England urged him to invade the country and take the crown from Henry who they knew was likely to be though a more just a not less severe ruler than William had been Robert did invade England in 1101 but made peace without fighting and went home again with the promise of an annual pension Among his English supporters was a great baron, Robert de Belleme Earl of Shrewsbury who had formerly helped Robert of Normandy against both William I and William II He was not protected by the agreement made between the royal brothers and Henry determined to crush him Robert de Belleme obtained help from the Welsh princes and he held his two strong castles at Bridgnorth (near Ludlow) and Shrewsbury against the king Henry forced the garrisons of both the castles to surrender exiled De Belleme and confiscated his English property Other supporters of Robert of Normandy were similarly treated and Henry in the remaining years of his long reign had never to face another rebellion in England

When Robert of Belleme and his fellow conspirators were exiled they took refuge on their estates in Normandy and sought vengeance upon Robert who had failed to protect his allies The condition of Normandy under a duke who was too weak to suppress rebellions became so bad that Henry had an excuse for interfering The result of his first intervention was that he was

released from the payment of Robert s pension and received a grant of territory In 1105 he made a second expedition to Normandy and extended his possessions there and in the following year having had a friendly meeting with St Anselm at Bec he undertook the conquest of the whole of Normandy Duke Robert and Robert de Belleme were in alliance against him and Henry defeated them at the Battle of Tenchebrai (September 1106) The victory was followed by the submission of Normandy and Robert was kept as a prisoner in England for the rest of his life De Belleme escaped but afterwards fell into Henry s hands and suffered a similar fate The growing respect of the English people for Henry I was increased by the victory At Hastings the Duke of Normandy had conquered England but at Tenchebrai the King of England had conquered Normandy The kingdom and the duchy were to be united for another century but the duchy was to be subject to the kingdom Yet the reunion of England and Normandy thus achieved by Henry I hindered rather than helped the Anglicization of the governing Norman class The separation of England from Normandy was disliked by the barons because it made difficulties for those of them who possessed lands on both sides of the Channel but for this very reason it would have made them better Englishmen by tending to concentrate their interests in England

Henry I lived for twenty nine years after the conquest of Normandy His main interest during that long period was the succession to his dominions At first his object was to secure for his son William the succession to Normandy as well as to England His imprisoned brother Robert of Normandy had a son also called William the boys were about the same age and both had been named in honour of their grandfather The English William was known as William the Atheling and the Norman William as William Clito the two words mean much the same thing and may be explained as equivalent to William the heir Some of the

Norman nobles and the French king Louis VI wished William Clito to succeed to Normandy and Henry tried to get possession of the boy but failed to do so This and other causes led to frequent war with France and to occasional rebellions in Normandy Henry was successful both in fighting and in bargaining and for fourteen years after the Battle of Tenchebrai everything went well with him Then a sudden tragedy blasted all his hopes

In the end of the year 1120 Henry returned to England after having made a successful settlement in Normandy His son William then seventeen years of age had just been recognized by Louis VI as the heir to the Duchy of Normandy and he also set sail for England though not in the same vessel The *White Ship* in which the prince travelled with a merry company of young relatives was wrecked just after it sailed and William and his comrades were drowned The loss of his son threatened to destroy all that Henry had been struggling to obtain but he devoted the remaining years of his life to furthering the interests of his daughter Matilda She was eighteen when her brother died and had been married as a child to the Emperor Henry V Her husband died in 1125 and the widowed empress returned to her father who at once obtained from the English barons an acknowledgment of her right to the succession in the event of his dying without leaving a male heir He was also determined to make her the heiress of the Duchy of Normandy This was a more difficult problem because the supporters of William Clito had been encouraged by the death of his cousin and rival and had recently raised another rebellion The rebels had been suppressed but they had the support of Louis VI who naturally wished to bring about the separation of Normandy from England To strengthen his daughter's chance of the succession to the duchy Henry married her in 1129 to Geoffrey the heir of the Countship of Anjou thus securing for her the help of Anjou when the time should come for her to claim her rights Six years

later that time came Henry I died in 1135 while engaged in suppressing a Norman rebellion in which his son in law Geoffrey of Anjou was implicated His long reign in England had been a period of peace and good government and he had introduced changes and improvements in administration which were to bear fruit in the reign of his grandson the elder son of Geoffrey and Matilda

When Henry died Matilda's chances of the succession seemed to have improved William Clito had been killed in the Norman wars in 1128 and his father Robert of Normandy had *died in his English prison in 1134* There was thus no direct heir male of William the Conqueror None of his three sons Robert William and Henry had left a son and Henry was the only one to leave a daughter Strange and unnatural as the succession of a woman to a crown seemed in those days Matilda was the nearest heir She had a husband and two sons and the further succession seemed secure A rival claimant however at once appeared The Conqueror's daughter Adela had married Stephen Henry Count of Blois and one of her younger sons named Stephen had been a favourite nephew of Henry I and was much at the English court He had been with the royal party in the fatal year 1120 and had originally intended to sail in the *White Ship* but had changed his mind His claim to the throne came through his mother and he was not her eldest son but the doctrine of primogeniture was not yet accepted for neither William II nor Henry I had been the heir male of William I Tradition was in favour of the succession of the nearest male of the royal family who was of full age and was fitted to rule When Henry I died Stephen was nearly forty and he had lived much of his life as an English baron Like the other English barons he had twice sworn a solemn oath to support the Empress Matilda

It was unfortunate for the empress that at the time of her father's death her husband Geoffrey of Anjou was in arms against him Matilda was not present at

Henry's deathbed and there was nobody to take action on her behalf When the news reached her she remained in France This was a fatal error, because in those days the preservation of law and order depended upon the sovereign The law was the King's law, and if there was no king there was no national law that could be enforced against evil doers Stephen on the other hand took advantage of his opportunity and came at once to London where the citizens were regarding with terror the prospect of a vacancy in the throne and a period of lawlessness, in which no judge or magistrate would be qualified to administer the law in the king's name The Londoners welcomed Stephen (1135–54) who made them a promise of good government and from London he went to Winchester, the old capital of the kingdom The Bishop of Winchester Henry of Blois was his younger brother and he could count upon his support As he had promised the Londoners good government he was ready to promise that he would interfere with the Church much less than Henry I had done and the influence of the Church was very great The other bishops were prepared to accept Stephen as king but they were influenced by the oath which had been taken to Matilda How could they accept absolution from the authority of a breaker of oaths? The difficulty was easily solved. A baron who had been present at Henry's deathbed asserted that the dying king, indignant at the ingratitude and treachery of his own family, especially of Anjou had released the barons from the oaths they had sworn for the succession of the empress

The Londoners and the bishops made Stephen king and he was crowned in December 1135, almost three weeks after his uncle's death Meanwhile Matilda and Geoffrey had made an unsuccessful attempt to secure Normandy the Norman nobles, on hearing that Stephen was recognized as King of England, accepted him as Duke of Normandy also His brother Alexander Bishop of Lincoln David I king of Scots an uncle of the empress in addition Earl Robert in her interests, but soon came to terms the

test the scruples of the clergy by treating
a lawful king The Church was further
when he gave up almost all the rights of
to the filling up of vacant sees and
temporal revenues during a vacancy But
were not long in coming There were
revolts which Stephen suppressed without
to which the three Norman kings
accustomed the public mind He began to have
a bold man a dangerous reputation
a powerful ruler Geoffrey and Matilda made
attempt upon Normandy and Stephen had to
a truce (1137) The Scots again invaded the
interests of the empress Stephen quarrelled
with a powerful baron Robert Earl of Gloucester a
natural son of Henry I and a half brother of Matilda
who now favored Stephen He captured some of
castles and his army defeated the Scots at
battle of Northallerton or the Standard fought in
After the victory Stephen s wife Queen
cousin of the empress and also a niece of
of Scotland made an agreement with her uncle
by the gift of the earldom of North

Now Stephen made the great blunder of his reign
of the Church to whose influence he owed his
He alienated his brother Henry of
another for the metropolitan
which had become vacant He
three powerful Bishops of Salisbury Lin
all of them members of the same family
of favouring the empress His treatment
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once But Stephen was a chivalrous man, and he refused to take advantage of his good fortune, and sent his cousin to Bristol where Gloucester was holding the castle against the king

Stephen's chivalry condemned England to go through the unhappy period known in history as the Anarchy Fighting continued for eight years but only two episodes in the long warfare need be remembered Early in 1141 Stephen while engaged in attempting to relieve a garrison which was holding the besieged castle of Lincoln on his behalf was taken prisoner by Robert of Gloucester This event seemed likely to determine the struggle in favour of the empress Bishop Henry of Winchester, Stephen's brother espoused her cause and the Londoners who had always been partisans of Stephen were forced to receive her But she quarrelled with the bishop and offended the citizens who drove her out of London Bishop Henry again changed sides and while Robert of Gloucester was besieging the episcopal castle at Winchester he in his turn was captured by Stephen's forces Thus within a few months the empress had enjoyed a chance of success, and by her own folly had lost it No second chance came to her The two important prisoners Stephen and Robert were exchanged and in the following year Stephen besieged Matilda in the castle at Oxford Just before Christmas 1142 the empress made a romantic escape Dressed in white in order that she might not be observed as she fled over the snow-covered ground she was let down by a rope made her way through the besieging army and reached Wallingford in safety She did not leave England until 1148 but by then her hopes of regaining her father's English heritage had long vanished Equally futile was an attempt made by her son Henry in 1149 While his wife was fighting in England Geoffrey of Anjou had conquered Normandy which for a few years was separated from England

The story as we have told it is a story of a *family* quarrel, a struggle between two cousins and it is natural

to think of the country as divided in opinion between the claims of Stephen and the claims of Matilda those who objected to a female ruler supporting Stephen and those who accepted the doctrine of succession in accordance with primogeniture supporting the empress This however is far from being a faithful representation of the motives which actuated the men who fought for king or empress There was no public opinion in England in our sense of that term The barons the higher clergy and the citizens of London were the three elements in the nation that alone influenced the conflict and each of them had other interests than the rights of either claimant to the throne The Londoners wanted a settled government under which they might extend their trade and live in peace, and they supported Stephen because they believed that he could give them the peaceful rule which they had enjoyed under Henry I The Church bargained with Stephen for rights and privileges hitherto unknown in England supported him when he conceded these demands and deserted him when he broke his promises The aim of the barons was the very opposite of that of the Londoners Henry I had made the central government strong and efficient and had suppressed barons who wished to be petty kings in their own domains The dispute about the succession gave them an opportunity of undoing his work and their interest in the struggle lay in weakening the central government and in increasing their own power They made bargains with Stephen and Matilda alternately and supported first one and then the other with the result that Stephen even after Matilda ceased to be formidable was king only in name and exercised no authority over the country as a whole

The use which the barons made of the opportunity of the civil war is described in a famous passage in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* in which the writer relates the miseries of the Anarchy and the deeds of the barons

"They filled the land with their castles and forced

fight for his father s uncertain crown and a bargain was made between Henry and Stephen By the Treaty of Wallingford (1153) Henry was recognized as heir, by hereditary right to the crown of England Stephen was to retain the throne during his lifetime and was to rule in accordance with Henry s advice Less than a year afterwards Stephen died and Henry II (1154–89) entered on a reign of thirty five years

# CHAPTER VI

## THE ANGLICIZATION OF THE NORMANS—II

THE reign of Henry II is of supreme importance in English history because he restored and developed the work of his grandfather and gave the country a system of administration which survived many chances and changes and is still regarded as the foundation of the government of the country The condition of England under Stephen had shown that national prosperity and progress and even national existence depended upon the efficiency of the central government—that is of the Crown The new king s first tasks were the destruction of the new castles a process which had begun after the Treaty of Wallingford the expulsion of Flemish soldiers whom Stephen had employed as mercenaries and the confiscation of Crown lands which had been given away in the course of the civil war When all this had been accomplished with but little opposition Henry began his great work of reorganizing the kingdom In 1159 he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Toulouse which he claimed in right of his wife and this expedition otherwise unimportant became the occasion of a great change in the military obligations of the barons Instead of compelling the personal attendance of barons and their men Henry imposed upon them a tax called Scutage or shield money out of the proceeds of which he could hire an army of paid soldiers The device had been employed by his grandfather for lands owned by

ecclesiastics—perhaps to avoid the kind of dispute which had arisen between William II and St Anselm (*cf* p 67) Henry II extended it to lands held by laymen and in this way he obtained an army over which he had entire control Some twenty years later he revived the old tradition of a national militia by making a law that every freeman should possess arms wherewith to defend the king and the kingdom

His greatest achievement was in the sphere of justice He instituted a permanent court of professional judges which usually sat at Westminster and is the origin of what is to day the Supreme Court of Judicature He sent royal judges all over England to try important cases just as their successors of to day go upon Assize and hold courts The sheriffs the old representatives of the Crown had been growing too powerful in their own localities and Henry transferred some of their most important duties to the judges and otherwise limited their authority and placed checks upon their conduct of local business He made a code of laws to detect and capture thieves and robbers and increased the penalties for their offences He caused the ancient system of Trial by Ordeal to fall into disuse This was a custom by which an accused person was made to carry for a short distance a bar of red hot iron His hand was then bound up and after an interval of some days was uncovered and inspected If it showed signs of healing the man was innocent if not he was guilty Such a system was very convenient for the sturdy ruffian who was responsible for the violent robberies which rendered life unsafe in England in the twelfth century He lived a healthy open air life and his wounds were likely to heal easily and promptly The belief that Providence intervened to save the innocent or condemn the guilty by healing or not healing the injury caused by the hot iron had ceased to be generally held and Henry introduced a more reasonable method of trial He also found a substitute for Trial by Battle which was a Norman device and unknown in Anglo-

Saxon times Like the Ordeal it depended upon a belief that Providence would intervene to give victory to the innocent and defeat was regarded as a proof of guilt

The system by which Henry superseded both Trial by Ordeal and Trial by Battle was the origin of what we know as Trial by Jury though his use of the jury differed widely from modern custom The Norman kings of England had been accustomed to employ a legal process which was familiar in Normandy—an appeal to local knowledge upon a question with regard to which the sovereign required special information When Domesday Book was compiled William I wished to know for example how a farm was stocked and a jury of neighbours was summoned to state facts which were common knowledge to everybody in the neighbourhood Henry II widely extended the use of this system If a man was accused of a crime a jury was asked to tell if he bore a bad or a good character and the decision of the judges was influenced by what they said If a special tax was imposed a jury stated what was believed to be the value of the tax payer s possessions in order that the amount he had to pay should be justly and fairly determined As far as these two uses of the jury were concerned it was still a royal privilege used by the king for his own purposes But Henry also allowed it to be used when a dispute between two of his subjects was being tried in a royal court If a great landlord claimed that land in the possession of a farmer really belonged to himself the old way of settling the dispute was Trial by Battle The great baron appointed a trained man at arms to fight on his behalf and the farmer who was probably quite untrained had either to face what was almost certain death or to give up his land and bear the reputation of a coward Under Henry s new laws the farmer could ask for a jury chosen from his neighbours who would tell the judges what they believed to be the truth about the disputed property, and the judges would give their

decision upon the facts thus presented to them Henry s juries did not try cases they were sworn to give information to the judges whose business it was to try and to decide

These and other important changes made in the administrative system of the kingdom were not invented by Henry II In the charter which he gave to his people at his coronation he announced his intention of following in the steps of his grandfather and most of his innovations were developments of experiments tried by Henry I The great achievement of Henry II was to make these experiments the foundation of a permanent system of national law a law which treated rich and poor alike It also treated Normans and English alike One of the best indications of the gradual process by which the Normans became Englishmen is the circumstance that the laws of Henry II drew no distinction between the two races

While Henry was engaged in his great reorganization of law and justice he was also engaged in a famous quarrel with the Church which had become much more independent in the reign of Stephen than it had been under the three Norman kings On his accession Henry had appointed to the high office of Chancellor of the kingdom a young clerk named Thomas Becket and had received from him able and faithful service In 1161 the See of Canterbury became vacant and royal influence made Becket the new archbishop He at once set himself to maintain and defend the privileges which the Church had extorted from Stephen and he resigned the chancellorship in order that he might be free to serve the Church alone and devote himself entirely to its interests The conflict between king and archbishop was influenced by the character of the two men—Henry hot tempered Becket obstinate and each of them convinced of the justice of his cause But the events of Stephen s reign had rendered some such conflict inevitable It had already been decided that the barons were not to retain the gains which they had made in

the days of the weakness of the Crown and the time had come for a similar decision with regard to the gains made by the Church

There were many points of dispute between Henry and Becket and the most important of them was the question of the jurisdiction of the Crown over criminous clerks —that is clerks guilty of crimes against the law of the land The clergy had the privilege of being tried in the courts of the Church and the privilege was shared by many who were not clergymen in our sense of the word It included all persons who were employed by the Church and wore the tonsure—that is shaved part of the hair on their heads in order to show that they had been admitted to the status of ecclesiastics Among these clerical persons there were not a few criminals and Henry, in his efforts to improve the administration of justice found that he could not bring such men under the ordinary law Stephen had given the Church courts sole jurisdiction over clerks and Church courts were forbidden by their own law to pronounce sentence of death or to order a criminal's hand to be cut off the ordinary penalty for the thief in those days The extreme penalty which these courts could inflict was deposition from clerical orders The deposed clerk became a layman and if he committed another offence could he tried in the king's courts but the king's law could not punish him for his first offence committed while he was still a clerk Henry proposed that in the future a clerk who was found guilty and deposed by the Church court should be seized by royal officers and taken to the king's court not to be tried over again but to be sentenced to the ordinary penalty prescribed by the law of the land for his crime

Henry asserted that his proposals were in keeping with the ancient customs of the country while Becket insisted that they were innovations Both seem to have been right but Henry was thinking of the customs of the reign of his grandfather while Becket thought only of the customs of the reign of Stephen The Church

itself was divided upon the question some of the bishops supported Henry and others Becket After some violent disputes the archbishop gave way and the king summoned a Great Council of the realm to meet at Clarendon in 1164 to agree upon a definition of this and other points at issue between the Crown and the Church The regulations made by this council are known as the Constitutions of Clarendon Henry understood that Becket accepted these Constitutions which limited the rights of the Church in many ways but it is doubtful if the archbishop did more than promise to accept the ancient customs of the land At all events he did his best to prevent the Constitutions from being carried into practice and he himself broke some of the new rules Henry took legal measures against him and a royal court imposed a heavy fine upon the archbishop Unfortunately the king was not content with the advantage thus gained Becket had been his friend and companion and he could not forgive what he regarded as his insolent ingratitude He began to claim repayment of sums of money which he said, Becket as Chancellor had expended without royal authority and the total of these sums was so large that payment would have ruined Becket financially The dispute about the rights of the Church was thus complicated by a bitter personal feud between Henry and Becket

Both parties appealed to Rome and the quarrel lasted for six years Becket resided on the Continent to which he succeeded in making his escape and pronounced sentences of excommunication upon those of the bishops who took the side of the king Attempts to negotiate a compromise were made in vain At last in the summer of 1170 it was arranged that Becket should return to England and that Henry should restore to him his forfeited possessions No settlement was made it seems to have been hoped that king and archbishop would ignore the differences that separated them and work together peacefully if not cordially Any such

expectations were at once disappointed A few months before Becket s return the Archbishop of York had crowned the eldest surviving son of Henry and Eleanor of Aquitaine also called Henry it was a custom of the day to crown an heir in his father s lifetime in order that there might be no delay in his assumption of the royal authority after his father s death The action of the Archbishop of York was an infringement of the rights of the See of Canterbury but Becket knew what had happened before he availed himself of Henry s permission to return to England

Even before he landed in the beginning of December Becket employing powers which he had persuaded the Pope to confer upon him declared that the bishops who had helped to crown the young Henry were suspended from the exercise of their episcopal functions and renewed his sentences of excommunication against his enemies Some of the bishops who were affected by these sentences fled to King Henry in Normandy Listening to their recital of their wrongs he lost his temper and in his wrath expressed a wish that some one would rid him of this turbulent priest That evening four knights left for England and on the 29th December they reached Canterbury Conscious of the terrible character of the deed which they meditated they came to the archbishop unarmed and demanded the with drawal of the sentences he had promulgated Becket knew the danger but he refused to yield and they went for their weapons On their return they found their victim in the cathedral and did him to death

Henry s rash words and the crime which they inspired were followed by the victory of the dead archbishop and the defeat of the living king Becket was universally regarded as a martyr and in little more than two years from the date of his murder he was canonized as a saint by the Church Henry had to abandon his claims in order to obtain absolution for the words which had sent Becket s murderers upon their mission More than three years after the archbishop s death the king in

dramatic circumstances did penance at the tomb of St Thomas of Canterbury By that time Henry was embroiled in the first of a series of conflicts with his sons He was an affectionate father and had done his best for them He had already crowned Henry as his heir and had placed him in authority over his maternal heritage of Normandy and his paternal heritage of Anjou and Maine to his second son Richard he had given rule over Eleanor s inheritance of Aquitaine for the third son Geoffrey he had provided by marrying him to the heiress of Brittany But none of the three had received what he regarded as an adequate revenue and they were not the actual rulers of the provinces which had been assigned to them Henry could not divest himself of his own supreme power or of his supreme responsibility for the vast territories which had come to him from father mother and wife A proposal to give his fourth son John some possessions in Anjou roused the wrath of the young Henry and his opposition to his father was encouraged by Eleanor who was on bad terms with her husband

Richard and Geoffrey joined the young Henry and rebellions broke out both in England and in France where Louis VII supported the rebels After gaining some victories in France Henry came in the summer of 1174 to deal with his enemies in England The re bellion of 1174 is the last of the great feudal revolts which followed the Norman Conquest and it was on a very large scale An important section of the barons were in arms for the young King Henry against the old King Henry and they had as an ally William the Lion King of Scots After the succession of Henry II the royal family of Scotland had been deprived of the earldom of Northumberland which had been granted to David I during the Anarchy, and William hoped to recover it The struggle in the north was of first importance but Henry on his arrival in England in stead of going north at once made a pilgrimage to Canterbury did public penance at the martyr s tomb

submitted to the humiliation of a scourging and received the forgiveness of the Church On that very day William the Lion amusing himself with some of his knights was surprised and captured by an English force His capture broke up the rebel combination and Henry never again had to deal with a serious English revolt.

That penance at the tomb at Canterbury was generally believed to be the cause of Henry's good fortune The saint had shown that he had forgiven his royal enemy Good fortune certainly came Henry went to France where the young Henry and Louis VII were besieging Rouen He at once raised the siege and made peace with his sons He was again on amicable terms with the Pope who agreed that clerks accused of breaches of the Forest Law might be tried in the royal courts The concession was welcome to Henry who resembled his great grandfather William the Conqueror in taking harsh and cruel measures against poachers and trespassers in the royal forests The possession of the person of William the Lion gave him a hold over Scotland about which we shall speak later A further success was connected with Ireland At the very beginning of his reign Henry had contemplated a conquest of Ireland and had obtained from the Pope who claimed authority over all islands, an approval of his proposed expedition The career of the Pope who gave this sanction is a famous illustration of the manner in which in the Middle Ages the Church provided a ladder on which a poor boy might rise to great position Nicholas Breakspear was an English boy of humble origin yet he came to hold the highest office to which man could attain and the sovereign of England craved a boon from him Henry did not however carry out his intention at the time but some years later in 1166 some English barons went to Ireland to help one Irish party against another In about four years' time they had brought the district between Waterford and Dublin under English rule In 1170 the famous "Strongbow" Earl of Pembroke went in person to Ireland, but

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A final rupture between father and sons was the result of the intrigues of Philip Augustus who had succeeded his father Louis VII as King of France No French monarch could view with equanimity the possession of the larger portion of his kingdom by a foreign power, and Philip entered upon a long struggle with the House of Anjou Geoffrey wished to add Anjou to his wife s province of Brittany his request was refused, and he entered into an alliance with Philip Geoffrey s sudden death in 1186 served Philip s purposes almost as well as the alliance would have done, for he claimed as overlord of Brittany to govern the duchy during the minority of Geoffrey's posthumous son Arthur, and went to war with Henry When peace was made Henry again tried to do something for John It had long been proposed that Richard should marry Philip s sister Adela but the bridegroom showed no enthusiasm for the marriage and Henry suggested that Adela should marry John and that John should receive both Aquitaine and Anjou leaving England and Normandy to Richard Philip saw in this suggestion an opportunity of stirring up Richard to rebel against his father The story of their intrigues is long and tangled it ended with the last scene of Henry's life After several quarrels and reconciliations Richard disowned his father and in the summer of 1189 he and Philip of France beat Henry in the field and forced him to accept humiliating conditions of peace Henry was already dying an old man at fifty six and to his sick bed they brought the news that John had betrayed and deserted him His last words 'Shame shame on a conquered king were perhaps appropriate to his failure as the head of the Angevin Empire but they have no relevance to his work as King of England The second Henry was certainly one of the makers of the nation and his great legal reforms not only compelled the Norman barons to acknowledge a higher power than themselves but also tended to fuse English and Norman together and to render possible the growth of that national spirit which was the hope of the future

Henry distrusted and recalled him and himself visited Ireland in the winter of 1171–72 received the homage of the Irish bishops and granted portions of Ireland to great lords The King of Connaught refused to acknowledge the authority of the English king but in 1175 he sent messengers to make his submission and received back his kingdom with jurisdiction over other parts of Ireland as a vassal king Ireland was not really conquered but ten years later Henry made it a domain for his youngest son John and John as a youth resided there for a short time

These pieces of good fortune were followed by a period of peace with France But the end of Henry's life was unhappy The great Angevin Empire which he had formed was doubtless a valuable help to him when he began his work in England To introduce order and good government into a country where great barons had for nearly twenty years been free from the control of the central power might well have been a desperate task for a young king who possessed England alone The power and prestige of the ruler of Normandy Anjou and Aquitaine strengthened the king of England in his beneficent work But the government of his scattered dominions constantly produced fresh problems which distracted him from his reorganization of his English kingdom and these problems were increased by his interventions in Brittany Ireland and Scotland His last years were rendered unhappy by the ingratitude of his sons and by their quarrels with each other Henry and Geoffrey intrigued against their brother Richard in Aquitaine and this dispute ended only with the death of the young Henry in 1183 He was married but left no child and Richard became heir to the crown King Henry proposed that as Richard was to have England he should give up Aquitaine to his youngest brother John Lackland Richard refused and Geoffrey and John made war upon him until Henry reconciled them and sent John to Ireland depriving Richard for a time of his authority in Aquitaine

promise to marry Philip's sister. In April 1191 he sailed for the Holy Land but storms compelled him to take refuge in Cyprus where he quarrelled with and deposed the ruler of the island. There also he married Berengaria daughter of the King of Navarre. Meanwhile Philip was besieging the town of Acre where Richard joined him in June. Acre fell in July and Philip then found an excuse for returning home to plot against Richard who began an advance upon Jerusalem. Progress was slow and there were changes of plan and in September 1192 a truce for three years was made between Richard and Saladin. The Crusaders had gazed upon the walls of the Holy City, but they realized that they were not strong enough to capture it and had to be content with Acre and some other coast towns.

The adventure and the romance of the Third Crusade are to be read in Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman* not in the history of England. But while Richard was bravely pursuing his hopeless quest strange things were happening at home. Richard had been too wise to entrust his brother John with power but he had provided him with an adequate income on condition of his living out of England. His mother Queen Eleanor had obtained permission for him to come to England and John at once began to make difficulties for the ministers who were attempting the hard task of raising money to finance the crusade. The regent William Longchamp Bishop of Ely was not always wise and John taking advantage of one of his mistakes raised so formidable an opposition that Longchamp took refuge in the Tower of London. The citizens of London might have been expected to support the representative of the royal authority but John offered them privileges and rights which had been given to some French towns and were known as the privileges and rights of a commune. It was a great period in the development of town life and Henry I and Henry II had given important rights to London and other towns but the privileges offered by John far exceeded anything which the Londoners

Richard I (1189–99) on the other hand can scarcely be described as an English king His personal history during the ten years of his reign is connected with a crusade and with wars in France His father had spent some of his boyhood in England and his young ambition had been to regain the crown which his mother had lost but Richard born in England the son of an English king had lived almost his whole life on the Continent and his interests and ambitions were in France The crusade which took him from England at the beginning of his reign was however a legacy from his father The First Crusade had resulted in the establishment of a Western or Latin kingdom in Jerusalem the Second Crusade had been a failure The rise of the great Saracen leader Saladin had threatened the safety of Jerusalem and Henry II had vowed to go upon a Third Crusade for the rescue of the Holy City Circumstances prevented the fulfilment of his vow and in 1187 Jerusalem was captured by Saladin When Henry II lay dying the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was setting out to recover it The crusade was an adventure after Richard's chivalrous heart his father had raised some money for the expedition and he devoted the first months of his reign to collecting more selling rights of the Crown and offices of state to the highest bidder He came to England a few weeks after his father's death and was crowned at Westminster After spending four months in his kingdom Richard returned to Normandy and arranged to start upon his crusade on 24th June 1190 Fourteen days earlier Frederick Barbarossa had been drowned in a river in Asia Minor

The Third Crusade had lost its earliest and greatest leader but Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus of France were confident of their ability to fulfil its objects Richard's succession to the great Angevin Empire had made him the enemy instead of the friend of the French king and the two monarchs spent some months in Sicily adjusting their differences By a payment of money Richard escaped the fulfilment of his

tained In April 1199 Richard was killed in France He had made a truce with Philip but he had been told that a large quantity of gold had been found in a petty fortress belonging to one of his vassals and he was killed by an arrow while engaged in besieging this castle In the ten years of his reign he had spent only a few months in England and his absence had shown that the administration of the country could be efficiently conducted by wise ministers without the personal intervention of the sovereign

John (1199–1216) whose treason had been long forgiven by his brother succeeded peacefully both to England and to the Angevin dominions in France His only possible rival was Arthur of Brittany the son of his elder brother Geoffrey and though later generations would have regarded Arthur as the rightful heir contemporaries who had not yet adopted the theory of succession by primogeniture preferred a man of thirty two to a boy of twelve There could now be no friendship between John and Philip and the latter proposed to use Arthur against John as he had used John against Richard and the sons of Henry II against their father He put forward on Arthur's behalf a claim to Anjou including Maine and Touraine and also to Poitou a part of the inheritance of Queen Eleanor who preferred the interests of her son John to those of her grandson Arthur But Philip was not in a position to undertake the conquest of these provinces at once and he made peace in return for some territories ceded by John who also paid his reliefs (*cf* p 58) and was accepted as Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou The Angevin Empire remained practically intact in 1200 except for the loss of Brittany to which John had no claim

Nobody can have imagined that Philip was likely to acquiesce in this arrangement It was his duty to bring French provinces under the direct rule of the French monarchy and a continuation of the duel between the House of Capet and the Angevins was inevitable

could hope to receive from Richard They accepted the bribe and gave their support to John and he succeeded Longchamp as regent in the summer of 1191

While Richard was in the Holy Land and could return when he chose John took no open steps against his brother s throne But on his way back from Palestine in the end of 1192 Richard was shipwrecked and fell into the hands of an enemy Leopold Duke of Austria who gave him to the Emperor Henry VI The emperor also had quarrelled with Richard and he kept him a prisoner A prisoner could not govern nor could he return and John saw a chance of mounting the throne in his brother s lifetime Supported by Philip of France he raised a rebellion asserting that Richard was dead But the Lords Justices who were responsible for the administration of the country resisted the disloyal regent and sent messengers to find Richard They found him and were allowed to speak with him as was also Hubert Walter Bishop of Salisbury who had been in the crusading army Richard chose Hubert Walter to fill the vacant archbishopric of Canterbury and he returned to England to look after his master s interests There could now be no doubt that the king was alive and steps were at once taken to raise the heavy ransom which the emperor demanded John and Philip offered the emperor money to keep Richard in prison but he was released in February 1194 As a condition of his release he was compelled to acknowledge the emperor as over lord of England

On Richard s return he easily suppressed John s rebellion but he had to go to France almost at once to recover his hold upon Normandy for John as part of his bargain with Philip H had ceded portions of the duchy to France and these had already been occupied by the French War with Philip occupied the remaining five years of Richard s life during which Hubert Walter governed England The country was impoverished by the effort to pay the king s ransom and supply him with money but internal peace was main

and returned to England leaving Normandy to its fate Chateau Gaillard was captured in March 1204 and Rouen in the following June Anjou Maine and Touraine were already in Philip s power All these territories were annexed to the crown of France hut John retained Aquitaine

The loss of Normandy was a bitter humiliation for John hut no misfortune for England English barons who had fought against Philip lost their possessions in Normandy and the interests of the Anglo Norman baronage as a whole came to be concentrated upon England By the reign of Henry II the social distinc tion hetween Norman and English had heen ohliterated though Norman French was still the language of the upper classes The antagonism between English and French in the Third Crusade must have emphasized the Englishry of the Anglo Normans who followed Richard I and the severance of England from Normandy completed the conditions requisite for their Anglicization The retention of Aquitaine mattered nothing from this point of view It was a distant territory held by the King of England, the English baronage had no lands there and were not connected with the Gascons hy any tie of race language or sympathy

But no one could have foretold how easy John was to make Philip's task by rousing opposition against himself. He had been married for some years to the daughter of a great English baron but she had no child and he obtained an ecclesiastical decision that his marriage had never been legal. Then he married a young girl Isabel of Angoulême who was betrothed to one of his own French vassals. For this and for other oppressive acts the nobles of Poitou brought an action against him in the court of his overlord the King of France. He refused to attend and the court following the recognized feudal law declared that he was a contumacious vassal and passed a sentence forfeiting all his possessions in France. In accordance with this sentence Philip in the summer of 1202 recognized Arthur as the ruler of Anjou Maine and Poitou and himself invaded Normandy which he proposed to annex to his own dominions.

Arthur was by this time fifteen years old and was ready to fight for his rights. His grandmother Queen Eleanor who still supported John was living in a castle in Poitou and he undertook a siege of this castle. John made a hurried march to relieve it and captured Arthur. The boy's fate after he fell into the hands of his uncle in August 1202 is not definitely known but there can be no doubt that he was murdered by John probably in the spring of 1203. Public opinion was shocked by the murder and fortune never again favoured John nor did he show in his fight for Normandy the energy which marked him at other periods of his career. It was becoming obvious that Normandy ought to belong by race language and geography to the kingdom of France rather than to the kingdom of England. The struggle did not last long. In the autumn of 1203 Philip after a series of successes began the siege of a great castle which defended Rouen the capital of the duchy. It had been built by Richard I., who was proud of the strength and ingenuity of its fortifications and called it Château Gaillard his 'saucy' castle. John made one feeble effort to relieve it and then lost heart

and returned to England leaving Normandy to its fate Chateau Gaillard was captured in March 1204 and Rouen in the following June Anjou, Maine and Touraine were already in Philip s power All these territories were annexed to the crown of France, but John retained Aquitaine

The loss of Normandy was a bitter humiliation for John but no misfortune for England English barons who had fought against Philip lost their possessions in Normandy, and the interests of the Anglo-Norman baronage as a whole came to be concentrated upon England By the reign of Henry II the social distinction between Norman and English had been obliterated though Norman French was still the language of the upper classes The antagonism between English and French in the Third Crusade must have emphasized the Englishry of the Anglo-Normans who followed Richard I and the severance of England from Normandy completed the conditions requisite for their Anglicization The retention of Aquitaine mattered nothing from this point of view It was a distant territory held by the King of England the English baronage had no lands there and were not connected with the Gascons by any tie of race language, or sympathy

## CHAPTER VII

### THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH FEELING

The loss of Normandy was the first of three great misfortunes that overtook King John. He had been humiliated by the King of France, he was yet to be humiliated by the Papacy and by his own subjects. His quarrel with the Papacy was not of his own seeking. Archbishop Hubert Walter, who had been Chancellor of the kingdom since John's accession, died in 1205, and the monks of Canterbury saw an opportunity of securing for themselves the right of appointment to which they had a strong claim. They secretly elected an archbishop and sent him to Rome to obtain a confirmation of his election. But the secret was divulged, and the monks, abandoning their own candidate, made an agreement with John and elected at his request John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich. The consent of the Pope was necessary, and Innocent III, perhaps the most powerful of the long line of Supreme Pontiffs, ordered the election of an English priest, Stephen Langton, who was residing at Rome and had attained the dignity of a cardinal. Langton was a distinguished scholar, and the Pope and he had made friends when they were fellow-students at the University of Paris.

John refused to allow Langton to come to England, and he seized the property of the See of Canterbury and sent the monks into exile. In the following year Innocent placed England under an Interdict, that is,

to say, he forbade the celebration of public worship and of some of the sacraments Baptism was still permitted but the dead might not be buried with the rites of the Church nor in consecrated ground and marriages could take place only outside the doors of a church John was not a religious man and he was not likely to feel these deprivations but it was expected that public indignation would force him to yield The expectation was disappointed, and John who was in desperate straits for money seized and enjoyed the revenues of the English Church In November 1209 Innocent took the further step of issuing a personal excommunication against John, forbidding faithful members of the Church to associate with him in any way But John did not allow the sentence of excommunication to be made known to the people of England and as all the bishops who were loyal to the Pope had left the country there was no one to defy the king The sentence made no difference and John was strong enough to undertake a campaign in Ireland where he extended English dominion and to make plans for the recovery of his French possessions His nephew, the Emperor Otto IV was also at war with the Papacy and he hoped to form with him a powerful European league against the Pope and Philip of France

The league was unfortunate there was much discontent in England owing to John's exactions of money and various acts of oppression and in the beginning of 1213 Innocent using a power which was claimed by the Papacy declared John to be a deposed monarch and invited Philip to invade England and to place upon the English throne his own son Louis who was married to John's niece John prepared to meet the invasion but he was not sure of the loyalty of his soldiers and sailors and he made up his mind to the ignominy of submitting to the Pope accepting Stephen Langton as archbishop and restoring the revenues of which he had deprived the Church Even then he did not feel safe Philip Augustus was not always obedient to the Papacy he

might be tempted by the chance of adding England to his dominions and the invasion might take place in spite of Innocent's forgiveness To avoid this danger John resolved to become the Pope's vassal for Philip would not dare to invade a kingdom which actually belonged to the Papacy His brother had been forced to make England a vassal kingdom of the Empire but the Emperor in 1213 was John's ally and apart from that was not strong enough to insist upon whatever right Richard's submission may be supposed to have given him John of his own *free will* and in order to escape a threatened danger surrendered the kingdom of England to the Papacy swore an oath of fealty to his lord the Pope Innocent and his successors and promised an annual payment in token of homage

It is difficult to discover what effect John's surrender had upon the people of England A hundred years later when English feeling was much stronger it would have been bitterly resented but there is very little evidence that it aroused any indignation There was however plenty of opposition to the Pope's new vassal He still hoped to recover his French dominions by means of the European league to which [illegible] in 1213 he made an expedition to [illegible] of Aquitaine which had been [illegible] the English barons refused to [illegible] were legally bound to do [illegible] of his obligations to them th[illegible] gations to him He gained [illegible] but his hop[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

created by Henry II was being used by John as a means of tyranny The restoration of the money he had taken from the Church (even though arrears were never paid in full) and the expenses of his French expedition had impoverished the Crown and John had no scruples in forcing the barons to pay more than he had a right to exact and he had been guilty of fierce and deliberate cruelty towards any one who opposed him Early in 1215 the barons took up arms and sent their demands to the king who refused them In the brief war that followed the Londoners supported the barons who entered the city in May John found himself without a royalist party, and following his usual custom, he gave way The barons put their demands in the form of a Charter of Liberties which they presented to John for his consent It was given at Runnymede near Staines, on 15th June 1215 when the king's seal was affixed to the Great Charter This famous document was constructed on the model of the charter issued at his accession by Henry I, but it contained many provisions which nobody could have dreamed of in the reign of the first Henry

It used to be believed that Magna Carta gave us parliamentary government and trial by jury but in actual fact it was not concerned with such things It was drawn up by the barons and it dealt with the misdeeds of the king He had been extorting more money than feudal law and custom gave him a right to do and the Charter said that if he intended to increase the recognized aids and dues he must first have the consent of his Great Council composed of the barons who had to pay these aids and dues He had behaved badly as the guardian of tenants in chief who were minors and he must abandon his practice in this respect These and many others of the evils which John was made to promise to reform affected the barons alone but some of the clauses of the Charter gave protection to all classes of the community against illegal punishments and unlawful methods of trial Above all, the Charter insisted

that there was a law of the land which the king was bound to observe So far did it go in this direction that it provided machinery for organizing rebellion against the king if he did not keep the law There was to be a committee of twenty five barons to which the king s subjects might bring complaints of his breaches of the law The committee was to demand redress from the king and if he did not give it within forty days was to seize royal property

That John should have consented to this last stipulation would cause surprise if it were not that we know that he never intended to observe any part of the Charter He agreed to it merely in order to gain time and in the hope that the army which the barons had collected would disperse when its demands had been granted Meanwhile he was hiring on the Continent a new army of mercenaries and he appealed to his overlord the Pope for protection against his disobedient subjects Langton was a staunch supporter of the barons but Innocent III deserted his old friend and issued sentences of excommunication against those who observed the Charter or tried to force the king to observe it When Langton refused to excommunicate his baronial allies he was suspended from his functions The barons were not prepared to submit to the king at the bidding of the Pope but they failed to meet him in the field and in the winter of 1215–16 John had some considerable successes and he ravaged the country mercilessly Meanwhile the barons had turned to the candidate for the throne who had been selected by the Pope when he was John s enemy—namely Louis the heir to the French throne Innocent tried to prevent Louis from accepting the barons offer but [illegible] in Engl[illegible] in May and entered London [illegible] hn retreat to the Welsh borders [illegible] u made an advance to relieve the [illegible] o was holding out for him The [illegible] h and contented himself with rav ties The [illegible] of King s Ly

him loyally and entertained him so well that he became ill He continued his march and in crossing the Wash in a storm he lost both men and baggage the latter including some of the royal jewels. At Swineshead Abbey in Lincolnshire he was again hospitably entertained and over indulgence in peaches is supposed to have hastened his end. He died at Newark in Nottinghamshire on 19th October 1216 at the age of about fifty, leaving behind him a worse reputation than any other English king

John's death was a piece of good fortune for the royalist cause A war waged to place a French prince on the English throne could never be popular even though Louis was married to a granddaughter of Henry II and the baronial attempt in his favour indicates the virulence of the hatred which John's character and conduct had inspired But John's son and heir Henry III (1216–72) was an innocent child of nine and there seemed to be no justification for the proposal to place a foreigner on the English throne Dislike of a French ruler was one of the reasons for the existence of a royalist party after John's repudiation of the Great Charter in the last year of his life he was no longer entirely dependent upon his foreign mercenaries The two greatest English statesmen of the time William Marshal Earl of Pembroke and Hubert de Burgh the Justiciar had never joined the rebels against John William Marshal was an old man of noble birth who had been employed by Stephen and Henry II had married the heiress of the Earl of Pembroke ( Strongbow ) and was hereditary Marshal of England On John's death he was chosen by the royalists as regent of the kingdom Hubert de Burgh also belonged to a great family and it was to him that John had entrusted Arthur of Normandy after his capture He had refused to obey John's orders to destroy Arthur's sight and thereby to render him incapable of ruling a kingdom and he had no share in Arthur's murder William Marshal and Hubert de Burgh could rely upon the sup-

port of the Church in their struggle for the rights of the little king Langton was in Rome and the papal legate Cardinal Guido was the ruler of the Church in England

William Marshal and Hubert de Burgh although they did not take up arms against their master were not opposed to the principles of the Great Charter and they persuaded the legate to give it his sanction The Charter in its original form had been condemned by Innocent III and though he had been succeeded by Honorius III the legate could not accept it in full It was therefore issued in a modified form in 1216 by the regent and the legate and this confirmation of the Charter attracted to the royalist side the support of many who had been bitterly opposed to John's tyranny The war lingered on for some time for the men who had invited Louis to England did not like to desert him and he had brought a French army with him But there were jealousies between the Englishmen and the Frenchmen who followed Louis and gradually the royalists increased in numbers In May 1217 they won a victory at Lincoln Help was sent to Louis by sea and in August Hubert de Burgh destroyed the vessels which were bringing reinforcements This naval victory ended the war and in September by the Treaty of Lambeth Louis agreed to leave England on condition that his followers should be unmolested This bargain was specially important for the citizens of London who had been foremost in support of Louis

The fact that London had been on the side of the French claimant shows us that English national feeling was still in its infancy If it had been strong Louis could not have continued the struggle for a year after John's death His supporters were fighting for their rights as barons and their persistence in the conflict after John's death and the confirmation of the Charter suggests that they wished to take the opportunity of reducing the power of the Crown which had been so greatly increased by the Angevin kings London was on the French side for the selfish reason that it wished to retain

the privileges it had recently won The royalist party depended partly on John's foreign mercenaries and only partly upon English loyalists The issue seems to have been decided by the Church which excommunicated the supporters of Louis Yet the fact that England had been divided between a French party and an English party and that the English party had won, could not but stimulate a national pride and a feeling of national exclusiveness an appreciation of the distinction between Frenchman and Englishman

After the departure of Louis there was work to be done in the restoration of order, but much had been accomplished before William Marshal died in the beginning of 1219 By that time Stephen Langton had been restored to his see and had given his support to the new government When the regent died Henry was twelve years old and was supposed to rule in person though he was really guided by a new papal legate Pandulf who had received John's surrender to the Papacy and by Hubert de Burgh For two years Pandulf kept England at peace, and when he returned to Italy in 1221 his place was taken by Langton who shared with Hubert de Burgh the Justiciar, the responsibility of government until Henry III *in 1227* began actually to rule the country During the later years of the minority De Burgh had to suppress some baronial revolts and there was almost constant warfare on the Welsh borders where the Welsh prince Llewellyn the Great, was extending his authority Hubert de Burgh had also to undertake military operations in France Louis the French claimant to the English throne became Louis VIII of France *in 1223* He asserted that all the French possessions of the House of Anjou had been lost by John's forfeiture in 1202 and in 1224 he achieved a conquest of Poitou which however was regained in the following year by an English army the nominal leader of which was Richard of Cornwall a younger brother of Henry III The danger from France came for the time to an end when Louis VIII died in 1226 leaving as his heir a boy

of twelve who as Louis IX, was to be a saint as well as a great king

The minority had thus been comparatively fortunate and in the early years of his active reign Henry continued to rely upon De Burgh as his chief minister He was ambitious of regaining his French possessions and in 1230 he made an expedition to France He landed in Brittany and marched as far south as Bordeaux but effected nothing and the failure in France was followed by a failure in Wales where Llewellyn was acting as an independent prince Then Henry in 1232 dismissed the great minister who had saved his kingdom for him and had restored order and reorganized the administration of the country after the civil wars Hubert de Burgh was succeeded by Peter des Roches Bishop of Winchester He was a Poitevin of attractive personality who had gained the favour of Richard I and had been made Bishop of Winchester by John He was one of the only two bishops who had defied the Pope and remained faithful to John during the whole period of the Interdict and after John's death he became the guardian of the person of the young Henry III He was an enemy of Hubert de Burgh and it was to get rid of him that Henry on De Burgh's suggestion had declared in 1227 that he no longer required a guardian After his dismissal he went on a crusade and returned in 1231 when Henry was discontented with the results of De Burgh's policy He soon acquired a dominant influence over Henry and from 1232 until the end of the reign England was disturbed by the favour shown by the king to foreigners

Peter des Roches did not himself hold De Burgh's great office of Justiciar which then meant much more than Chief Justice and the occupant of which was usually the leading minister of the Crown The justiciarship was given to an Englishman who was a mere tool of the bishop and many offices were conferred upon Poitevins The unpopularity of the foreigners was so great that within a year a rebellion broke out under Richard Earl of Pembroke, a son of the old William

Marshal It was not successful but the Poitevins immediately found another enemy Stephen Langton had died in 1228 his successor was short lived and in 1234 a great and saintly English scholar, Edmund Rich became Archbishop of Canterbury He threatened to excommunicate the king if he did not dismiss the Poitevins and under this threat Peter des Roches fell from power When Henry discovered the use which the Poitevins had made of their power he was very angry and he resolved never to allow affairs to be managed by a great minister again He proposed to govern by means of mere officials who would carry out the king's wishes and to a large extent he did so But he was too lazy to supervise the work of his officials and such a system required constant supervision He was also apt to change his policy frequently and did not support his subordinates when difficulties arose The result was that the administrative system which Henry II had created and Hubert de Burgh had restored came to work very badly, and the country was misgoverned Henry III was very proud of being English and unlike the other kings since the Conquest he revived Anglo Saxon traditions He restored Westminster Abbey out of reverence for Edward the Confessor, and he called his sons by the English names of Edward and Edmund Yet in spite of this encouragement of English national feeling he continued to provoke opposition and rebellion by the favour he showed to foreigners.

In 1236 Henry married Eleanor of Provence She was a member of a very large family and her kinsfolk crowded to the English court These Savoyards or men of Savoy soon became as unpopular as the Poitevins and some of the latter were restored to favour Foreign influence in the Church revived with the arrival of a new papal legate whose duty was to obtain English money for the wars which the Papacy was waging with the Emperor Frederick II While the burden of taxation civil and ecclesiastical was arousing a growing discontent Henry in 1242 made another expedition to France

to secure Poitou for his brother Richard of Cornwall The result was the conquest of Poitou by Louis IX and Henry returned to England accompanied or followed by a new group of foreigners—Poitevins who had taken the losing side and had been dispossessed by the French When he came back he found England ready for revolt but the discontented barons had no great leader and things went on as before Foreigners filled high places in Church and State the Archbishop of Canterbury who succeeded Edmund Rich in 1241 was Boniface of Savoy a connection of the royal house

Other portions of the Duchy of Aquitaine besides Poitou had fallen into French hands and rebellion broke out among the Gascons who still acknowledged the authority of the King of England Gascony was saved in 1248–49 by one of Henry's foreign friends This was Simon de Montfort a younger son of a great French House who had come to England in 1230 His grandmother had been the heiress of the English earldom of Leicester and Henry bestowed the earldom upon him and married him to his own sister Eleanor Simon disapproved of Henry's misgovernment and his relations with his royal brother in law were not always friendly but Henry was glad to avail himself of his services in Gascony until complaints of the severity of De Montfort's rule led to his dismissal in 1253 Then Henry had to go in person to pacify the Gascons He did so by making peace with Louis IX and also with Alfonso King of Castile and so depriving the rebels of French and Spanish support The agreement with Castile was followed by the marriage of Alfonso's sister Eleanor to Edward Henry's heir and the French dominions of which Gascony alone remained in actual possession were transferred to Edward though like Henry II in similar circumstances Henry III still retained control over the government of the dependency After the troubles in Gascony Edward who was also entrusted with Wales had an unsuccessful campaign on the Welsh borders

The expenses of these expeditions added to the grievances of the English and Henry was not content with spoiling his people for his own benefit The great struggle between the Papacy and the Empire was still in progress and the Pope tried to obtain supplies from England by conferring the crown of Sicily upon Henry s younger son Edmund He never enjoyed more than the name, and the Pope received very little money from England for Henry was unable to raise it though his efforts to do so roused fresh discontent The English clergy had offered strong opposition both to papal taxation and to the frequency with which benefices in England were bestowed on non resident foreigners sometimes individuals and sometimes religious communities who appointed a curate to perform the duties and themselves drew almost all the revenue of a benefice so given A great bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln who led the opposition to these abuses died in 1253 but others took his place On the other hand the papal claims found defenders in the friars These were new Religious Orders of which the most important were the Dominicans or Black Friars founded by St Dominic and the Franciscans or Grey Friars founded by St Francis of Assisi The friars did not live a cloistered life like the monks but mixed with all classes of the people and their special duty was to preach to the poor and to tend the sick The Dominicans established themselves in England about 1221 and the first Grey Friars came in 1224 The friars brought about a widespread religious revival and almost immediately gained great influence all over the country

Discontented barons and churchmen at last found a leader and it is remarkable that this leader was himself a foreigner When Henry asked a Great Council or Parliament to grant him money in 1254 his request was refused and foremost in the opposition was Simon de Montfort Again in 1258 the King s necessities forced him to make a similar appeal and this time he met with more than a mere refusal De Montfort s influence was

strong in the Mad Parliament" as the royalists called it and it inquired into the misgovernment of the realm and ordered that a Committee of Twenty four half of them to be chosen by the king should make a plan for the conduct of affairs in future The plan which the committee produced was such as to leave Henry little power The new scheme known as the Provisions of Oxford because the Parliament met in that city provided for the appointment of a number of committees to advise the king and he was to be bound to act on their advice The Provisions of Oxford were short lived and never had a fair trial Perhaps the most important thing about them is that in producing them the English barons were combining to create an efficient central government they no longer aimed at independence

It was scarcely possible that the king would acquiesce permanently in this transference of the royal authority to a body of barons until he had been beaten on the battlefield But at first there was little opposition The Poitevins were driven out of England and Henry commanded all his subjects to obey his new ministers and himself soon went to France where in 1259 he made a treaty with Louis IX surrendering his claims in Normandy Anjou Maine Touraine and Poitou and doing homage to Louis for Gascony He gained from the treaty an acknowledgment of his title to Gascony some territorial concessions and a sum of money When he returned to England he found that his enemies owing to quarrels among themselves had failed to get the new scheme into working order Then he asked the Pope to dispense him from his oath to accept the Provisions of Oxford His request was granted and in 1261 he proclaimed that the Provisions were null and void and that he intended to resume the authority which belonged to the Crown

An appeal to arms was bound to come but owing to various causes war did not break out until 1263 In the short campaign of that year Simon de Montfort with the help of the city of London forced Henry again to

accept the Provisions and to banish the foreigners whom he had recalled but Edward the heir to the throne had assembled a royalist army and the two sides made a compromise It was agreed that Louis IX should be asked to decide whether or not Henry was bound by the Provisions of Oxford In January 1264 at Amiens Louis decided that whatever authority the Provisions possessed had been destroyed by the action of the Pope in condemning them and freeing Henry from his oath The 'Mise of Amiens was followed by a rebellion headed by Simon de Montfort who refused to accept the decision of Louis After a considerable amount of fighting in which the royalists had the best of it Earl Simon again with the help of the Londoners completely defeated Henry and Edward at Lewes in Sussex His victory was largely due to the conduct of Edward He was opposed by the citizens of London whom he hated because they had insulted his mother and getting the better of them he pursued them far and hotly and in his absence Simon won the battle (May 1264)

For over a year Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester was the ruler of England and Henry and Edward were his prisoners but the country was unsettled and the new government had to meet the opposition not only of the royalists but also of the Pope The months of Earl Simon's rule have become famous for one memorable event In March 1265 a Parliament met in London to which De Montfort had summoned two knights from every shire and two burgesses from every borough It was not strictly a Parliament at all because it was an assembly of Leicester's supporters a meeting of the partisans of one side in a civil conflict Up to the end of the twelfth century the Great Council of the kingdom had been composed only of the greater tenants in chief of the Crown clerical and lay but John and Henry III had summoned for special purposes knights chosen in the courts of the shires The importance of Simon de Montfort's Parliament—for he himself regarded it as a Parliament—lies in the circumstances that for the

first time burgesses shared in its deliberations along with knights of the shire and great landowners and that these various classes of the community met to make what De Montfort hoped would be a settlement of the great affairs of the nation It does not follow that De Montfort intended that Parliament should always include burgesses and representatives of the shires but he has the credit of making a great experiment even if it was made in unhappy and unfortunate conditions of civil war

The rival leaders in the split in the baronial party in 1259 had been Leicester and Richard de Clare Earl of Gloucester who had gone over to the king's side Gloucester died in 1262 and his son and successor Gilbert the 'Red' Earl of Gloucester had given his support to De Montfort But after the Battle of Lewes Gloucester quarrelled with Leicester and in April 1265 he came to terms with Henry Then Edward escaped from De Montfort's custody and the royalist forces increased in strength In August the great earl was defeated and killed at the Battle of Evesham in Worcestershire The civil war lingered on for some time and severe measures were taken against the rebels But Henry did not rule as he had done before 1258 and many of the grievances of which the barons had complained were remedied by a law passed by the king and known as the Statute of Marlborough The last years of Henry III were the only peaceful years of his reign When he died in the end of 1272 England was much more English than it had been at the death of John A long struggle with foreigners who were hated because they were foreigners had strengthened the feeling of English nationality and a great step had been taken towards the development of those parliamentary institutions which were to be the distinctive feature of English history

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ATTEMPT TO UNITE THE ISLAND—I

ONE of the results of the growth of English feeling in the thirteenth century was an ambition to bring the whole island under English rule and the reign of Edward I (1272–1307) is largely occupied with fighting in Wales and in Scotland The possession of Gascony involved him from time to time in wars with France but these were chiefly important for their effect upon his Welsh or his Scottish policy Edward was in Palestine on a crusade when his father died and on his way home he visited France, restored order in some disturbed districts in Gascony and tried to obtain continental allies in the inevitable struggle with France A few years later in 1279 his wife Eleanor of Castile became the heiress of the county of Ponthieu in Picardy and he obtained the consent of Philip III to his holding it as her husband In spite of many difficult questions which arose from time to time there was no actual warfare until the reign of Philip IV who succeeded his father in 1286 The French complained in 1294 that English and Gascon sailors were attacking French ships and Philip IV used these complaints as a pretext for an attempt to annex Gascony He adopted the device that Philip II had employed against John summoning Edward to answer charges in his court and forfeiting his possessions when he did not appear in person A Welsh revolt (*cf* p 122) restricted Edward's military resources and

the French seized Gascony A second expedition was sent in 1296 but that was the year of Edward s first campaign in Scotland (*cf* p 128) and in the following year when Edward sent an army to Flanders to aid the Flemings in their struggle with the French William Wallace s victory in Scotland again hampered his plans He never succeeded in regaining Gascony by force of arms but in 1303 Philip IV who was himself in difficulties restored it to the English king

Apart from Edward s Welsh policy and his Scottish policy which we are about to describe his reign is memorable for a series of legal enactments and for a great development in the Constitution For a brief period in 1260 Edward then a youth of twenty one had acted with Simon de Montfort against his father and the great earl probably influenced the young prince s future policy He was a reluctant prisoner when Leicester made his famous constitutional experiment and he would certainly not have admitted that the London meeting of Simon s supporters in 1265 was a Parliament in any sense of the word but ten years later he made an experiment of the same kind himself In spite of his absence from England at the time of the death of Henry III there was no opposition to his succession and England was so peaceful that he was able to make his campaign in Gascony and did not return until 1274 He held a Parliament in 1275 and summoned to it as De Montfort had done the commonalty of the land representatives from towns and shires He did not intend to make a definite rule that every future Parliament should include knights and burgesses and many subsequent Parliaments did not include them but in 1295 when he was in grave political difficulties he summoned besides the magnates clerical and lay two knights from every shire and two burgesses from every borough and in addition representatives of the lower clergy—that is the clergy under the rank of bishops abbots and priors who sat as tenants in chief Although the lower clergy soon ceased to be represented in Parlia

ment the Parliament of 1295 has been traditionally regarded as the Model Parliament including all the classes which ought to be represented But Edward was only using special means to get himself out of a special difficulty He was not defining the constitution and membership of Parliament and though he held many Parliaments between 1295 and his death in 1307 he rarely followed the precedent which he had set in 1275 and in 1295 The Model Parliament of 1295 was the most representative Parliament which had yet met in England and it contained the elements of which in the future English Parliaments were to consist but it was only one if the greatest of a series of constitutional experiments

In the legal enactments of the reign the king s aim was to establish the rights of the Crown and to provide against usurpations of these rights By the Statute of Gloucester (1278) he ordered inquiries to be made into the claims of the great landowners to enjoy special rights of jurisdiction or special exemptions from the payment of money to the Crown Such inquiries which were known as Quo Warranto ( by what warrant? ) were not a novelty and Edward did not intend to abolish rights which really belonged to the barons If they could produce a royal charter or if they could show that they and their ancestors had exercised a disputed right for a very long period—the accession of Richard I soon came to be the test—there was nothing more to be said The king s aim in the Statute of Gloucester and in the Quo Warranto proceedings which followed it and went on for many years was to ascertain clearly the rights of the Crown and to secure that these should be respected and that barons should not claim rights to which they were not entitled Edward passed other measures to improve the system of land tenure Lands which were given to monasteries escaped payment of reliefs (*cf* p 58) because the monastery being not an individual but a corporation never died sometimes by a fraudulent bargain estates were nominally conferred

upon monasteries without being really given to them in order to avoid reliefs and wardships Edward's Statute of Mortmain (1279) forbade any gift of land to the Church without a licence from the king In these and other ways he tried to make all the land in the kingdom bear its proper burdens and pay its just contribution to the national expenses

Similarly Edward endeavoured to make every class of his subjects take their share in making and carrying out the laws The greater tenants in chief were summoned to attend Parliament in person and they became known as the Lords Temporal to distinguish them from the Lords Spiritual the bishops and abbots who were also bound to attend in person The freeholders in the counties and the burgesses in the towns as we have seen were occasionally required to send representatives to Parliament and to pay their expenses They had also to serve on juries to help in the pursuit and capture of criminals and to purchase and maintain arms so as to be able to take part in the defence of the country and the citizens of walled towns had to take their turn of watching the gates from sunset to sunrise and arresting suspicious persons who came into the town The lower clergy were also required on occasion to send representatives to Parliament and Edward to some extent succeeded in doing what Henry II had failed to do—namely in placing some limits upon the jurisdiction of the Church courts which were in the habit of trying cases that more properly belonged to the king's courts He said for example that if a man accused another of slandering him the case might be tried in a Church court so long as the slandered person merely wanted his slanderer to be punished for the good of his soul if however he wanted to obtain pecuniary damages for the slander the case must be tried in the king's court

While Edward undoubtedly made many and great improvements in English law and administration the expenses of his wars in Gascony in Wales and in Scotland compelled him to tax his people very heavily

At the beginning of his reign the Parliament of 1275 approved of his taking a customs duty upon wool skins and leather exported from England This was the beginning of a new kind of taxation and it proved to be a very convenient method of raising money for the Crown The king's officials easily obtained payment from the merchants many of them foreigners who bought English wool and carried it to Flanders then the great cloth making country But though the customs duties were lucrative Edward's income was quite inadequate to his needs and in 1290 he deprived himself of an important source of wealth The revenue of his predecessors had been derived from Crown lands from the profits of the royal courts of justice and from the various forms of taxation paid under the feudal system by tenants in chief In addition to these taxes upon land the Norman and Angevin kings had been accustomed to obtain large sums of money from the Jews As aliens in England the Jews had no rights under the laws of the land and they depended upon the Crown for protection They were money lenders and often extortioners and they were very unpopular The Crown gave them protection but made them pay heavily for it As time went on the Jews became more and more hated They were accused of murdering Christian children in their religious ceremonies and the accusation to us incredible was universally believed At the coronation of Richard I there had been something like a massacre of the London Jews and attacks upon Jews were frequent They had lent money to Henry III and when during the rebellion of 1258–65 he was unable to protect them, their enemies took the opportunity of killing many of them in various parts of the country Edward I preferred borrowing money from bankers in Italy to borrowing it from Jews in England and in 1290 he banished them thus depriving himself of a valuable source of revenue it is to his credit that he allowed them to take their money with them

The expulsion of the Jews was so popular that Parlia

ment in 1290 made a special grant in token of gratitude but in the course of the next few years Edward s needs and his demands constantly increased and the Parliament of 1295 voted him a tax known as a subsidy It was paid by all classes of the community but in different proportions by landowners boroughs and clergy In 1296 the Lords Temporal the knights of the shires and the burgesses repeated their grants but the clergy refused to pay anything because Pope Boniface VIII had issued a Bull called from its initial words Clericis *laicos* forbidding any layman to place financial burdens upon the clergy without papal consent Edward at once outlawed the whole English clergy This meant that any layman might rob a clerk without interference from the king s sheriff or judges While he was engaged in this dispute with the clergy Edward found all classes of the nation indignant at the burden of taxation Going far beyond his rights in the imposition of customs duties he seized large quantities of wool and hides and restored them only if the owners were willing to pay exorbitant sums of money

At one time it looked as if Edward in the middle of his wars with France and Scotland would have to meet a rebellion in England But the danger passed away The clergy moved by patriotic feeling and recognizing that they could not defend the extreme position they had adopted paid the tax which Edward demanded and the Pope soon gave his approval to their conduct Even Robert Winchelsea the Archbishop of Canterbury who had been the king s most violent opponent, ultimately acquiesced in the defeat of his own policy though the two men were never friendly In September 1297 a Parliament met and discussed the whole question of taxation Edward himself had gone to conduct his unsuccessful campaign in Flanders and the regents whom he had left to govern England found that the Parliament would grant no money unless the king not only confirmed the Great Charter of John but also promised that he would never again behave as he had

done in exceeding his rights over customs duties without first receiving the consent of his subjects in Parliament The promise was given by the regents and was afterwards confirmed by the king and liberal supplies were voted The Parliament of 1297 was one of those which included knights of the shires and burgesses and the royal promise was made to and was trusted by the representatives of the nation It was the first occasion on which an English Parliament used its power of granting money as a means of limiting the power of the Crown

We have now to tell the story of the attempt made by Edward I with the support and approval of his people to include Wales and Scotland in the kingdom of England and to bring the whole island under one ruler

The early Norman kings had aimed rather at protecting England from Welsh invasions than at conquering Wales William I had given special powers to the Earls of Chester Shrewsbury and Hereford and strong castles had been built at Cardiff and other places on the eastern borders of Wales But some progress was made in the conquest of Welsh territory and the rivalries among the Welsh princes prevented them from offering a united resistance to Anglo Norman encroachments which continued under William II and Henry I The weakness of Stephen enabled the Welsh to regain some ground but Henry II more than once invaded Wales and exacted homage from the princes Then the leadership of all Wales passed into the hands of the prince who is known as Llewellyn the Great He was himself Prince of North Wales and he married a natural daughter of King John and with the help of his father in law he extended his power to South Wales A quarrel with John was followed by invasions which reduced Llewellyn to submission but the English rebellion gave him another chance He joined the insurgent barons Welsh rights were protected in the Great Charter and when he did homage to the young Henry III in 1218

created by his demands for men and money for that purpose Madoc seized the royal castle of Carnarvon He attracted a large number of followers and undertook the siege of other castles Edward did not allow Gascony to divert him from the urgent need of restoring his power in Wales and the great army which he brought with him suppressed the rebellion in the winter of 1294–95 Wales was soon to become once more a Principality but not under a Welsh prince In the course of the winter of 1283–84 which Edward spent in Wales a son Edward was born to him in Carnarvon Castle He was the fourth son of Edward and Eleanor of Castile but his elder brothers died in infancy and he became the heir to the throne Princes were often known by their birthplaces and the young Edward was distinguished from his father by being called Edward of Carnarvon In 1301 when he was seventeen years old he was created Prince of Wales and since that time it has been usual for the sovereign to confer the title upon his eldest son and heir

The kingdom of Scotland as it existed in the end of the thirteenth century was an amalgamation of at least four different peoples who for nearly three hundred years had formed an organized and independent national community In the region north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde the Picts had in the middle of the ninth century combined with the Scots an Irish tribe which had long ago settled in the region known to day as Argyll The kingdom of Picts and Scots had frequent wars with the Angles of Northumbria who in the sixth century had made settlements on the east coast as far north as the Firth of Forth In the days of the greatness of Northumbria King Ecgfrith had tried to conquer the Picts and had been defeated at the Battle of Nectansmere in 685 (*cf* p 29) and the Picts and Scots after their union had aimed at conquering both the Angles of Lothian the district between the Firth of Forth and the mouth of the river Tweed and the

British of Strathclyde the district between the Firth of Clyde and the Solway Firth They were often at war with England but they occasionally joined the descendants of Alfred the Great in the struggle against the Northmen the common enemy of all the peoples of this island At last in 1018 during the period when Canute was establishing his power in England Malcolm II, King of the Picts and Scots defeated the Angles of Lothian at the Battle of Carham on the Tweed and added Lothian to his dominions The remaining kingdom of Strathclyde was subsequently inherited by Malcolm's grandson Duncan—the Duncan of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* In 1034 Duncan became king of the whole country and his kingdom was known as Scotland in the sense in which we now use the word

At the date of the Norman Conquest of England Scotland was a Celtic or Gaelic kingdom though it included an Angle population in Lothian But its king Malcolm III—known as Malcolm Canmore or Malcolm Bighead—married the sister of Edward the Atheling (*cf* p 61) and this marriage was the beginning of a series of changes in the civilization of the Lowlands The race of kings descended from Malcolm and Margaret intermarried with the English royal house or with Anglo Norman noble families they were familiar with English ways they invited English nobles to come to Scotland and gave them lands Gradually the old Gaelic organization of the kingdom was replaced by Anglo-Norman feudalism The law was modelled on English laws and the land system was that of England Other influences aided the progress of Anglicization The Church in Scotland had been comparatively little changed from the Celtic Church which England had refused to accept at the Synod of Whitby (*cf* p 28) In the course of the twelfth century it was brought into line with the Church elsewhere in Europe it came under the active control of the Papacy and it was organized in dioceses The ecclesiastical changes were brought about by English clergy who held high positions

in Scotland Further the development of trade and commerce led to the rise of burghs on the English model and English merchants settled in Scottish towns These changes however were limited to the Lowlands—that is the district south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde and the east coast plain from the Forth to the Moray Firth The Highlands remained untouched by the great movement which brought a new civilization into the Lowlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

The Scottish kings had political as well as family and social connections with the kings of England Malcolm III having married a Saxon princess invaded the north of England in token of hostility to the Normans and William the Conqueror after a successful counter invasion made the Scottish king take an oath of homage to him but at the same time gave him some lands in England It was therefore a doubtful question whether the homage was for the crown of Scotland or for the English lands As time went on the English marriages of the Scottish kings brought them other lands in England and David I claimed in right of his wife the great earldom of Northumbria and succeeded in taking possession of it in Stephen's reign though his successor Malcolm IV had to give it up on the accession of Henry II The Scottish kings therefore had always to do homage as English landowners just as the English kings did homage as French feudatories but they never admitted that they owed any homage for the crown of Scotland—never until after a misty morning in July 1174 when William the Lion King of Scots was taken prisoner at Alnwick while helping English rebels against their sovereign (*cf* p 89)

Henry II released William the Lion only after he had agreed to a treaty made at Falaise in Normandy where he had been carried captive By the Treaty of Falaise William acknowledged Henry as the overlord of Scotland But in 1189, when Richard I was raising

money for his crusade he sold back to the Scots for a large sum the homage which had been rendered at Falaise and the Scots who for fifteen years had resented the ignominy of a "grievous yoke of superiority and servitude paid what Richard demanded The agreement between Richard I and William the Lion cancelled the Treaty of Falaise and left the question of the relations between England and Scotland exactly as it was before William's capture The Scottish kings still held lands in England and still did homage but no one of them ever admitted that his homage was for the crown of Scotland nor did any English king ever insist upon such an admission

In March 1286 Alexander III King of Scots was killed by being thrown from his horse His two sons and his daughter had died before him His sons left no children but his daughter the wife of King Eric of Norway had left behind her a baby girl The succession of an infant who was both a female and a foreigner would have been disputed in any European country at that date and if there had been any near relative of the late king who could have been regarded as a suitable candidate for the throne there can be no doubt that the claims of the little 'Maid of Norway would have been passed over But Alexander III had no near relatives and there were many distant relatives who might attempt to seize the crown The most important of these and the only two whom we need mention were Robert Bruce and John Balliol Both belonged to the new Anglo Norman nobility of Scotland and they represented rival factions among the Scottish nobles If the claim of either were to be accepted it was certain that the other would begin a civil war In these circumstances the Great Council of Scotland carrying out the wishes of Alexander III proclaimed the accession of the little Margaret of Norway and appointed guardians or regents to undertake the government of the realm The Bruce party in its disappointment began to offer armed opposition and the Scots

learned with satisfaction that the King of England was ready to support the authority of the little queen The two countries had been friendly for many years no living man could remember a war between England and Scotland

Edward made no claim to possess any authority over the Scottish crown and he proposed that the two kingdoms should be united by the marriage of the child Queen of Scots to his son Edward of Carnarvon then a boy of five In July 1290 a marriage treaty was concluded at Brigham on Tweed and the treaty provided that if Edward and Margaret should have no child the throne of Scotland should pass to the rightful heirs It was a wise and statesmanlike scheme but it did not come to fruition for two months later the Maid of Norway died at the age of six on her voyage from Norway to Scotland The policy of a marriage alliance was at an end and Edward then fell back upon a design of making Scotland a vassal kingdom A civil war between the Balliols and the Bruces was certain and Edward began to inquire into the question of the homage which the Scottish kings had been in the habit of doing to the kings of England The learned men of the kingdom were instructed to produce evidence and they brought to Edward a long series of quotations from old chronicles to show that the Scottish kings had been vassals of England from the days when they had helped Edward the Elder against the Northmen The meaning of the evidence which they produced is still debated by historians but Edward easily satisfied himself that the facts were in accordance with his wishes

He summoned the magnates of Scotland to meet him at Norham on Tweed in June 1291 Some of the rival claimants to the throne had asked him to adjudicate and he announced that he intended to do so not as a mere arbitrator but as overlord of Scotland Before he could inquire into the conflicting claims he must receive a unanimous acknowledgment of his supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland The Scots asked for delay

Edward gave them three weeks and employed the time in assembling an army on the English side of the Tweed When the time came they had no option but to submit Edward received the recognition which he believed to be his right and he appointed a commission of eighty Scots and twenty four Englishmen to sit in judgment upon the pretensions of the competitors for the vassal crown More than a year passed before the commissioners presented their report In November 1292 Edward acting upon their decision declared that John Balliol was the lawful heir It was a victory for the strict theory of descent by primogeniture Both Balliol and Bruce were descended from a brother of William the Lion—David who had held the English earldom of Huntingdon Balliol was the grandson of David s eldest daughter and Bruce a much older man was the son of David s second daughter Bruce s argument was that as a grandson of David he was more nearly related to him than Balliol who was a great grandson but this contention was set aside in favour of descent from an elder daughter

John Balliol was a weak man and Edward at once began to exceed his acknowledged rights as overlord by hearing in English courts appeals from decisions of the Scottish king s courts These proceedings roused indignation in Scotland where Balliol was accused of betraying the rights of the kingdom In 1294 he returned from a meeting with Edward bringing with him a demand from his overlord to furnish men and money for the English king s war with his own overlord in France The Great Council or Parliament of Scotland refused to comply with this demand compelled Balliol to banish Englishmen from the kingdom and forfeited the lands of Robert Bruce who was regarded as an English partisan These measures constituted a defiance of Edward He was engaged in a war with France and in the suppression of Madoc s rebellion in Wales and his heavy taxation was beginning to rouse the domestic opposition of which we have already spoken It seemed

a favourable opportunity for regaining the independence which had been lost and the Scots in the summer of 1295 made an alliance with Edward's enemy Philip IV of France It was in these circumstances that Edward summoned the Model Parliament of 1295 to strengthen his position at home (*cf* pp 114–115)

In the early spring of 1296 he began his conquest of Scotland The prosperous city of Berwick on Tweed in the old Anglian province of Lothian resisted his approach and in the end of March Edward captured the town and massacred the citizens It was the first act of warfare after nearly a century of peace and its cruelty set an evil example for what was to be a long and cruel struggle marked by merciless slaughter on both sides At Dunbar the English easily dispersed a Scottish force and there was no further resistance The Scottish nobles were divided between the Balliols and the Bruces and John Balliol was not the man to lead a great national movement He had indeed been terrified by his own subjects into his act of defiance and after the capture of Berwick and of the castles of Dunbar Roxburgh Edinburgh and Stirling he begged for mercy Edward in the course of a triumphal march through Scotland met his repentant vassal in Forfarshire and received from him the surrender of his crown The policy of a vassal kingdom had failed

Edward had already decided upon the incorporation of Scotland in the kingdom of England It was the right of an overlord to forfeit the dominions of a disobedient vassal as Philip II and Philip IV had forfeited the English territories in France Balliol was carried captive to England and after three years was allowed to finish his ignominious career on his family estates in Normandy All the Scottish magnates, clerical and lay were made to take an oath of allegiance to the sovereign of England as their liege lord The Great Seal was broken as a symbol that the kingdom of Scotland had now no separate existence State papers and documents were removed to England as also was the ancient

# CHAPTER IX

## THE ATTEMPT TO UNITE THE ISLAND—II

In 1297 when Edward's domestic troubles were at their height the people of Scotland revolted against English rule. They found a leader in Sir William Wallace the younger son of a Renfrewshire landowner who was soon at the head of the army of the commons of Scotland. Edward went to Flanders in August and in September Wallace won an overwhelming victory at the Battle of Stirling Bridge in which Cressingham the Treasurer was killed. Wallace became Guardian of Scotland and in the winter of 1297–98 he was strong enough to raid the north of England. Edward returned home in March 1298 he at once collected a great army and in July he completely defeated Wallace at Falkirk. Wallace escaped from the battle but resigned his office of Guardian. The victory of Falkirk did not however mean the reconquest of Scotland. Other regents took the place of Wallace and prepared to fight for the independence of their country. Edward was not strong enough to subdue Scotland and he returned to England in 1299 to encounter further difficulties with his English barons who insisted upon another confirmation of the charters. Meanwhile the Scots were expelling English garrisons from Scottish castles and wavering Scottish nobles and bishops were adopting the national cause. Edward was unable to make an effort on the scale that was necessary if Scotland was to be reconquered and

he had to allow the castle of Stirling the most important military position in central Scotland to fall into the hands of the Scots

Gradually his difficulties decreased In the summer of 1299 he made an agreement with Philip IV He did not yet recover Gascony but he agreed to marry as his second wife, Margaret the young sister of the French king and hostilities with France came to an end In 1300 and 1301 he made a series of concessions to his subjects issued a fresh confirmation of the charters and agreed to reduce the extent of the royal forests Meanwhile Pope Boniface VIII had intervened on behalf of the Scots, and had ordered Edward to submit his claims upon Scotland to the judgment of the See of Rome Edward used the papal interference to excite an English patriotism which influenced his barons to support him in the Scottish war The rights of the Crown of England were they said a matter over which the Pope had no jurisdiction But though both in 1300 and in 1301 Edward found means of making an expedition to Scotland he effected nothing and on each occasion agreed to a truce In 1302 the agreement which Edward had made with Philip IV three years earlier was converted into a permanent peace by the restoration of Gascony and the Scots lost such slight moral or diplomatic support as the French had previously given them

In 1303 Edward at peace with all the world except Scotland was ready to resume the task of conquest The campaign of that year began with a Scottish victory at Roslin near Edinburgh It was gained by one of the regents John Comyn known as the Red Comyn He was a nephew of John Balliol and had been accepted as the representative of the Balliol claim to the throne In the spring Edward went to Scotland in person made an unopposed march as far north as the Moray Firth and spent the winter at Dunfermline an old palace of the Scottish kings In 1304 he recaptured Stirling Castle the regents despairing of

success submitted to him even before the fall of the castle and in the summer he returned to England believing that he had achieved his purpose For two years it seemed as if he was right In the winter of 1304–5 Wallace who after the Battle of Falkirk had gone to the Continent to plead the Scottish cause with Philip IV and with the Pope maintained some resistance and while Wallace was free and in arms the English conquest could not be secure But in August 1305 Wallace was captured perhaps betrayed and great as Edward was he was not great enough to respect the noblest foe he had ever known Wallace was put to death as a traitor in London and portions of his tortured and mutilated body were sent to Scotland in the hope of destroying the determination with which his life had inspired the people of Scotland. Meanwhile Edward was drawing up a scheme for the future government of the conquered country and was receiving from a new Pope permission to break the promises which he had made to his own subjects in 1297 and 1301

Edward's scheme for the government of Scotland was marked by the wise statesmanship which characterized his legal and constitutional measures in England but it was never to come into operation On 10th February 1306 Robert Bruce the grandson of the original claimant and the head of the Bruce family met John Comyn the representative of the Balliols in a Dumfries church The mere fact that the two claimants to the Scottish crown arranged to meet and discuss their claims shows that the possibility of further resistance was contemplated and the tragedy of that February day made resistance certain and immediate Both were hot tempered men and they were discussing a very delicate personal question Bruce stabbed Comyn and leaving the church he said to his followers I doubt I have slain the Red Comyn Doubt! was the reply of one of them I'll mak siccar [make sure] That the murder was unpremeditated may be regarded as certain It compelled Bruce to begin a resistance for

which he had made no preparations it placed a blood feud between him and half the Scottish nobility and it was likely to alienate the clergy who had been persistent advocates of the national cause but might well hesitate to support a man guilty of sacrilegious murder

Whatever might be his chance of success Bruce had no choice but to raise the standard of independence and he was crowned in March by two Scottish bishops The response was greater than he could have expected and he found himself at the head of an army Edward at once sent the Earl of Pembroke to deal with him and in June Pembroke defeated Bruce at Methven near Perth Bruce's power seemed to be broken and he spent the summer and the following winter as a fugitive while English forces captured his partisans But Bruce reappeared in the early spring of 1307 was again joined by a patriotic army and in May defeated Pembroke at Loudoun Hill near Ayr Edward had spent the winter at Carlisle and though he was sixty-eight years old he resolved to take the field in person It might have gone ill with Bruce if the old king had been able to carry out his intention but Edward's strength was not equal to the strain and on 6th July 1307 he died at Burgh on Sands near Carlisle

A great English king was followed by a weak one Edward of Carnarvon who in 1307 became Edward II (1307–27) was fond of outdoor sports and amusements he had a handsome and agile body and he looked a king But he had none of the resolute and stern purpose essential for the successor of Edward I and his real interest was in his amusements He left Scotland at once and took his father's body to Westminster instead of fulfilling the old man's wish that his bones should be carried in front of his army until Scotland was subdued The late king's ministers were dismissed and replaced by the new king's favourites One of these a Gascon knight named Piers (Peter) Gaveston had been banished by Edward I who regarded him as

exercising an evil influence over his son he returned at once and was made Earl of Cornwall and married a niece of the new king One arrangement made by his father Edward did carry out—to his own ultimate undoing In 1308 he married Isabella daughter of Philip IV of France a marriage destined to exercise an unhappy influence on the future of both countries Edward's marriage did not diminish the influence of Piers Gaveston who was so greatly detested by the English barons that they demanded his banishment Edward yielded to their threats but made Gaveston the ruler of Ireland and recalled him in 1309 The result was a baronial rebellion in the following year and a body of twenty one Lords Ordainers was appointed with Edward's *unwilling* consent to reform the government and the royal household

While the Lords Ordainers were organizing a new system of administration to supersede the personal rule of the king Edward undertook an invasion of Scotland No attempt to deal with the Scottish situation had been made since the old king's death The murder of Comyn had created in Scotland a party which could be trusted to be loyal to the English cause Hitherto Scottish barons had joined and deserted the English as circumstances changed but there was now a body of powerful Scotsmen who could never be induced to acknowledge Bruce as their sovereign Edward's inaction left these men without support and without a policy Bruce was able to crush his Scottish enemies in detail and this process was almost completed by the date of Edward's invasion in 1310 There is no indication that the English people resented the abandonment of the conquest of Scotland and Edward's campaign was regarded as a device adopted to save Gaveston who was given a command in the army The expedition was quite futile Bruce did not give a chance of a pitched battle and Edward did nothing except some ravaging for which Bruce afterwards retaliated by invading the north of England The English king spent nearly a year in

be inferior in point of numbers and it had always been Bruce's policy to refuse the enemy such an opportunity The English army which met the Scots at Bannockburn near Stirling on 24th June 1314 possessed superiority in numbers but no leadership The Scots on the other hand were under the command of a king who was a great soldier and he had chosen his ground and decided upon his tactics Edward's magnificent army was completely defeated and he himself fled to seek safety at Berwick

The attempt to reconquer Scotland had to be postponed until another reign Scotland was in fact independent though Edward II never acknowledged its freedom The Papacy which had excommunicated Bruce as the murderer of Comyn ultimately withdrew its sentence and recognized King Robert His Scottish enemies were dispossessed of their estates and forced to take refuge in England During the remaining years of his life the King of Scots was the relentless enemy of England and he found many opportunities of hampering English policy

If Edward II had won the Battle of Bannockburn he would have had a chance of freeing himself from the rule of the Ordainers but as a defeated monarch he came completely under their control and the responsibility for the failures of the next eight years fay with Thomas of Lancaster The Scots were allowed to ravage the north of England without any serious opposition There was disorder in many parts of England and Wales The Irish encouraged by the success of the Scots offered to make Robert Bruce King of Ireland He declined the offer for himself but accepted it for his brother Edward and in 1315 a Scottish expedition went to the aid of the native Irish The rebellion was for a time very formidable and though Edward Bruce was killed in a skirmish near Dundalk in 1318 he had shaken English authority in Ireland This period of continuous failure was also a time of famine and bad harvests which increased the national dissatisfaction with Lancaster's rule

The unpopularity of Lancaster led in 1318 to the recovery of some power by the king but he soon became involved in disputes about another favourite This time it was not a foreigner but a member of a great English family Hugh le Despenser upon whom Edward wished to confer the earldom of Gloucester extinct by the death of the last Clare earl at Bannockburn The story of Gaveston seemed to be about to be repeated A Parliament in 1321 insisted upon the banishment of Despenser and his father also Hugh le Despenser Then disagreements among his opponents gave Edward an unexpected opportunity which he used energetically He obtained an armed force and recalled the Despensers and in March 1322 Lancaster was defeated and captured at Boroughbridge in Yorkshire Edward at once put Lancaster to death and summoned a Parliament which revoked the Ordinances and made the king once more the ruler of England The Lords Ordainers had been placed in power by a Parliament which did not include knights of the shire and burgesses the Parliament which dismissed them declared that the commonalty of the realm ought to be represented in Parliaments which took important decisions upon matters concerning the king and the kingdom If Edward II intended by these words to appeal from the barons to the people the reception of his request for the support of the commonalty must depend upon the use made of the authority thus restored to him

He tried to retrieve his reputation by another Scottish campaign and in the summer of 1322 invaded Scotland once more achieving nothing On the return march the Scots made a silent and unobserved pursuit and nearly succeeded in capturing Edward at Byland Abbey in Yorkshire To save the north from the ravages of the Scots Edward made in 1323 a truce for thirteen years He failed to give England good government but he was tolerated by the English people until a domestic conspiracy brought about his fall Edward was not on good terms with his queen Isabella of France who hated her

husband s friends the Despensers The old disputes about Gascony constantly embittered his relations with his father in law Philip IV who died in 1314 and with his three brothers in law Louis X Philip V and Charles IV who came to the throne in rapid succession The French kings frequently interfered in Gascony and Charles IV deliberately sought and found a cause of quarrel He declared that Edward had forfeited his French possessions and he conquered both Gascony and Ponthieu the inheritance of Eleanor of Castile A small portion of Gascon territory alone remained to Edward Then Isabella persuaded him to send her to Paris to make terms with her brother Conditions of peace were suggested and a pretext was found for send ing Edward the heir to the throne to join his mother The whole scheme was a trick and Gascony was not restored

In Paris Isabella met and fell in love with an exiled English baron Roger Mortimer an enemy of the Des pensers who had been imprisoned after the Battle of Boroughbridge and had escaped and found a refuge in France They gathered other exiles round them made a plot for Edward s overthrow and landed in England in September 1326 asserting that they had come to drive the Despensers from the king s councils and to avenge the death of Thomas of Lancaster who though he had been a self seeking and incompetent ruler was popularly regarded as a martyr There was no enthusiasm for the queen s cause but she gained the support of the Lon doners who hated Edward II She pursued her husband to the Welsh marches On the way she took the city and castle of Bristol without resistance and put to death the elder Despenser who was in command of the garrison The unfortunate king tried in vain to escape by sea and was captured along with the younger Despenser in November The favourite was executed at once Edward was taken prisoner to Kenilworth and a Par liament which included knights of the shires and bur gesses, met in London and discussed his misdeeds The

loss of Scotland Ireland and Gascony and the general misgovernment of the realm were attributed by Edward s enemies to his incompetence indolence and love of favourites. No actual sentence of deposition was pro nounced against him but a number of barons and bishops were sent to Kenilworth to persuade or compel him to resign his regal dignity in favour of his son He did so and the young prince was crowned in January 1327 In the following September Edward II was cruelly murdered at Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire the guilt of the deed falls on Isabella and Mortimer and the horror which it evoked produced for the murdered sovereign the reputation of a saint

Edward III (1327–77) was just fifteen when he was placed on his father s throne and his mother and Mortimer being in possession of power undertook the regency It lasted for three years and was memorable in two ways The Scots on the pretext that the deposition of Edward II automatically cancelled a truce made with him, renewed their invasions of England Efforts to defeat them were once more futile and the young king began his career as a soldier by narrowly escaping capture Isabella and Mortimer resolved to do what Edward II had always refused to do and in the Treaty of Northampton (1328) England acknowledged the fact of Scottish independence and abandoned any claim to feudal superiority Though the treaty was duly confirmed by a Parliament it was regarded with dislike and was known as the Shameful Peace Against this recognition of the failure of English policy in Scotland the regents could place a partial success in France for in 1327 some scattered portions of Gascony were restored to the Crown of England Before the regency was over a more important question arose with regard to the relations between England and France

Charles IV died in 1328 leaving a posthumous daughter He was the last male directly descended from Philip IV and he traced his descent to Hugh Capet who had founded the French royal house in the end of

the tenth century Since that date the French throne had always passed from father to son until the death of Louis X in 1316 Louis left a daughter but she was passed over in favour of her uncle Philip V He died in 1322 leaving three daughters and was succeeded by another brother Charles IV and he in turn left only a daughter It had thus become an established rule that the French throne was not to pass to a woman and Charles IV was succeeded by his cousin Philip VI the son of a younger brother of Philip IV and a grandson of Philip III Queen Isabella protested against her cousin s accession She could not claim the throne for herself but she asserted that her son who had been born in the lifetime of her father Philip IV and of her brother Charles IV was the real heir to the throne There were some grounds in French law and custom for the doctrine that though an estate could not pass to a woman it might pass through her to her son but the French nobles did not extend this doctrine to the Crown because they wanted a Frenchman not a foreign sovereign as their king Isabella was unable to do more than protest but she had raised a question which was soon to be of stupendous importance

The rule of Isabella and Mortimer came to an end in 1330 when Edward III was in his nineteenth year He organized a conspiracy against Mortimer who was arrested and executed and Edward began his long period of active rule His early ambition was to restore English authority in Scotland Robert I died in 1329 leaving as his successor David II a boy of five who in accordance with the Treaty of Northampton had al ready been married to Edward s young sister His position was protected by the treaty but there were disputes about the fulfilment of some of its conditions and there was a body of Scotsmen living in England who were eager to seize the opportunity of a minority in order to depose the House of Bruce These were the Scottish barons who had lost their estates because of their support of the English claims they were known

as the Disinherited Among them was Edward Balliol the son and successor of John Balliol Edward III though he did not at first declare war upon Scotland allowed the Disinherited to sail from England on an expedition for the conquest of Scotland They found the Scots without a competent leader and in August 1332 they gained a victory at Dupplin Moor near Perth In September Edward I of Scotland was crowned at Scone he claimed to have succeeded to his father's vassal throne and avowed himself the liegeman of the King of England Twelve weeks later a Scottish force drove him out of the country

During these weeks Edward III openly adopted Balliol's cause and received in return a promise of the cession of Berwickshire including the town and the castle In the summer of 1333 he besieged the town and defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill in its neighbourhood His victory was acclaimed as avenging the shame of Bannockburn and it seemed for a time to have restored English dominion in Scotland Berwick surrendered the young David II and his English wife were sent to France for safety and the grateful Balliol ceded to his liege lord the whole of the south of Scotland from the Forth to the Tweed which was to be incorporated in the kingdom of England But Balliol could not maintain his position in Scotland and Edward found that a military expedition was required every year In 1334 in 1335 and in 1336 he invaded Scotland meeting little or no opposition but finding that his task was never accomplished Whether beaten in the field or not the Scots were determined to have their own king and to retain their independence In his expedition in 1336 he penetrated as far north as Inverness but in the following winter the stubborn Scots were still recapturing strongholds and expelling English garrisons

The task of the patriotic party was rendered incomparably easier by a change in Edward's policy He determined in 1337 to seek a fairer domain than Scotland and to place himself on the throne of France This

diversion of his interest had an effect upon the situation similar to that produced by the death of Edward I thirty years earlier The Scots gradually recovered much of the territory which had been occupied by the English In 1341 when Stirling and Edinburgh were again in Scottish hands the young king was brought back from France The attempt to unite the island had definitely failed The death of the Maid of Norway had deprived Edward I of the opportunity of trying the experiment of an equal and peaceful union of the kingdoms His attempt to force a union had converted friendly neighbours into bitter enemies There had been no Anglo Scottish war for eighty years before Edward I made his invasion in 1296 there was almost constant warfare for nearly three centuries after that date Before the War of Independence Scottish kings had occasionally been suspected of a tendency to prefer France to England after it every successive Scottish king was the ally of France and ready to make on England an attack which if never dangerous was often troublesome

# CHAPTER X

## THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR—I

THE quarrel between England and France in the middle of the fourteenth century was in part the legacy of Eleanor of Aquitaine the wife of Henry II No king of France could regard with satisfaction the possession of French territory by the sovereign of another country and Philip II and his successors one after another had been trying to diminish the French possessions of the English Crown They had almost achieved their purpose only two separated portions of Gascony remained and Edward III knew that Philip VI was trying to undermine English authority there The French had also given some support to the Scots It was not much for Philip IV had left John Balliol to his fate and some years later had made with England the marriage alliance from which Edward III derived his claim to the French crown but Philip VI had received the fugitive David II in 1333 and had otherwise given some encouragement to the patriotic party in Scotland Further the English wool trade with Flanders was threatened by French influence over the Count of Flanders who was a feudatory of France In 1336 he forbade his subjects to trade with England thereby provoking the hostility of the townsmen of Ypres and Ghent who depended upon England for the wool which they wove into cloth These and other considerations led Edward to resolve upon a French war and he allied

himself with some North German princes who were Philip's enemies

Philip VI like his predecessors retaliated by forfeiting Edward's French territories and Edward on October 1337 renewed his claim to the French throne The claim at first was in the nature of a threat and war did not actually begin until two years had been spent partly in diplomatic discussions and partly also in preparation In the autumn of 1339 Edward invaded France from Flanders but Philip evaded a battle and the English king not possessing sufficient confidence to force an action departed without having achieved anything In spite of his failure the burghers of Ghent Ypres and Bruges whose trade was being ruined by the lack of English wool entered into negotiations with him and expelled their count The Flanders burgesses laid great stress upon Edward's adopting the title of King of France believing that it would relieve them of the responsibility of defying their count and his overlord Philip VI and it was at Ghent that Edward was first proclaimed King of France a style which was retained by his successors until the end of the eighteenth century Edward had begun his attack upon France in alliance with the Emperor Louis the Bavarian and with some German princes but this alliance had proved to be almost useless and he now hoped to continue the war in combination with Flemish burghers

The first great battle of the Hundred Years War was fought at sea The Normans were good sailors and one of Edward's grievances against Philip VI had been the occurrence of Norman attacks upon English shipping In June 1340 the English defeated a great French fleet in a battle fought off the Flemish town of Sluys and thus secured the command of the sea for the conveyance of English troops to France It would no longer be necessary to invade France from Flanders and this would have reduced the importance of the Flemish alliance but the alliance came to an end some years before a serious invasion of France took place Edward's

campaign in Flanders in 1340 was unsuccessful he achieved nothing for the Flemings and he owed them money By making a truce with Philip VI he deserted his allies and he returned to England to reform the government of the country Then a dispute about the succession to the Duchy of Brittany gave him the opportunity of finding fresh allies and in 1342 he fought in Brittany in support of the party which opposed Philip VI but once more an ineffective campaign was closed by a truce

Three alliances had done nothing to further the realization of Edward s ambition the situation in Flanders had changed since the war began the Gascon possessions had not been actually seized by the French and there was no good reason for a renewal of the struggle But Edward was not prepared to accept a record of continuous failure and he determined with the support of his own people to recover at least the portions of Gascony which had been lost in the reign of his father In 1345 he sent an expedition to Gascony and it attained a success which induced Edward to make an invasion of France on a large scale To secure the peace of the north he offered to restore to the Scots such portions of the south of Scotland as were still in English occupation on condition that they abandoned their French alliance and made a treaty of perpetual peace with England But the Scots argued that if the English were successful in France they would not be content to leave Scotland independent while if they were unsuccessful they would try to regain their military prestige by a conquest of Scotland In either event the Scots if they deserted France in her hour of need could expect no French help when their own time came The English offer was declined and Edward had to provide against a Scottish invasion

A great English expedition landed on the coast of Normandy in July 1346 captured Caen and after threatening Paris fought a memorable battle at Crecy in Ponthieu English archery which had gained

victories over the Scots at Falkirk Dupplin and Halidon Hill was the chief factor in Edward's victory though the great French host was badly led The French archers were Genoese refugees armed with the cross bow which had been the great weapon in the crusades But the English long bow the use of which Edward I had learned from the Welsh was as rapid as the cross bow and had a longer range and though the French cavalry fought well and persistently the issue was never doubtful Great as was the victory and terrible as were the losses of the French the results of the campaign of Crecy were disappointing for all that Edward could do was to undertake what proved to be a prolonged siege of Calais The threatened Scottish invasion took place in October when David II was completely defeated at Neville s Cross near Durham and he himself taken prisoner to London After the victory of Neville s Cross the English reoccupied large portions of the Scottish territory which had been recovered since 1336 and while the English held portions of Scotland and portions of France a Franco-Scottish alliance was inevitable

By a great effort Edward obtained possession of Calais in August 1347 and the town remained English for over two hundred years But his resources were exhausted he had secured a gateway into France and had no troops to send through it nor money to equip them There was nothing for it but to make a fresh truce Eight years elapsed before the attempt to conquer France was renewed on a large scale In the interval English troops fought in Brittany in Aquitaine and in the region round Calais the defences of which were strengthened by the seizure of some outlying fortresses In 1354 when England was weary of the struggle Edward offered to give up his claim to the French throne in return for the cession of territory in France to be held not from the King of France but in full sovereignty by the English Crown Such an arrangement would only have increased the difficulties of the possession of French land by a foreign sovereign and it could be no guarantee

of permanent peace The French refused the offer and in 1355 the Prince of Wales who since the Battle of Crecy had been known as the Black Prince possibly from the colour of his armour was sent upon an expedition to Aquitaine There he proved himself a great soldier and in the following year advancing into Poitou he gained a victory which had momentous consequences for France At Poitiers in September 1356 he defeated in a pitched battle a large French army and took captive the French king John who had succeeded his father Philip VI , in 1350 Though Edward III had brought a fresh army to Normandy the English were not strong enough to take advantage of the victory and a truce was made in the spring of 1357

There followed a series of negotiations The captive King John though he received chivalrous treatment during his imprisonment was so anxious for his release that he offered to restore to Edward III the whole of the vast French territory which had formed part of the empire of Henry II but his people would not consent to such a surrender Edward then made in the winter of 1359–60 another invasion on a large scale But misfortune pursued him He besieged Reims the traditional scene of the coronation of the kings of France and he besieged Paris but had to retire from both cities Realizing the difficulty of the task of conquest he made another truce and in 1360 both countries agreed to the Treaty of Bretigny or Calais Edward in addition to King John s vast ransom (only a portion of which was paid) received the whole of Aquitaine including Poitou and in the north the district round Calais and his grandmother s inheritance of Ponthieu

The Treaty of Bretigny was never fully carried into execution and it failed to bring peace to France The people of Aquitaine resented English rule though Edward tried to gratify them by creating it a Principality and sending the Black Prince to reside there as Prince of Aquitaine The Black Prince held a splendid court but he employed English advisers and he cared nothing

about the traditions and customs of the province In 1367 he engaged in a war to restore to the throne of Castile a tyrant named Pedro the Cruel who had been deposed by his brother Henry He was temporarily successful though Pedro lost his throne and his life two years later but he had wasted men and money soon to be required in Aquitaine In 1368 the nobles in Aquitaine revolted and appealed to France The duchy had been restored to England in full sovereignty but as Edward III had not fulfilled the terms of the Treaty of Bretigny Charles V of France who had succeeded his father John in 1364 heard the appeal as overlord The Prince of Aquitaine refused to appear and his father again claimed the French crown

The recovery of France was rapid War began again in 1369 The Black Prince was in bad health and both in Aquitaine and in the north the French were almost continuously successful In June 1372 the English fleet was destroyed by Spanish ships The intervention of Castile was the result of the ill advised campaign on behalf of Pedro the Cruel His victorious brother Henry was naturally ready to revenge himself upon the English and he was able to deal them a deadly blow for the Battle of La Rochelle deprived them of the command of the sea without which they could not hold Aquitaine Nevertheless they made the attempt and John of Gaunt Edward's third son marched through France from Calais to Bordeaux in 1373 It was a considerable feat but it achieved nothing for John of Gaunt could not maintain his communications and he failed to keep Gascony In Normandy the English were equally unsuccessful and when a truce was made in 1375 they held only a few scattered possessions including Calais and Bordeaux

The result of nearly forty years of bloodshed was therefore that Edward III at the end of his reign ruled over a smaller portion of Gascony than had belonged to him when he came to the throne Calais with the district round it was the one important acquisition

which be had to show for the glories of Crecy and Poitiers The war was not the mere result of Edward s ambition Its roots were deep in the past The marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry II with the consequent possession of French territory by the English Crown had created a situation which had been a frequent cause of war for a century and a half before Edward III was born It would probably have been good for England and it would certainly have been good for France if Aquitaine had been lost along with Normandy On more than one occasion it had nearly been lost but various chances had preserved a portion of it to destroy the possibility of friendly relations between Edward III and Philip VI The English king was also convinced—it was easy for lawyers to find arguments to convince him—of the justice of his claim to the throne of France he bad what seemed to him to be a legitimate grievance in the support given by France to Scotland and there could be no doubt that English interests were deeply affected by French efforts to destroy the wool trade with Flanders It is easy to explain and possible to defend tbe outbreak of the war but it is much more difficult to find sound reasons for its continuance for so long a time The dramatic victories of Crecy and Poitiers did not avail to fulfil Edward s purpose but in spite of the fact tbat in each instance the inadequacy of the victory was immediately proved by the poverty of its results tbese triumphs probably blinded him to the difference between winning a battle and conquering a country Edward I had discovered this difference in Scotland Edward III discovered it in France but he was unwilling to admit failure and he persisted until failure could no longer be denied.

The historian of France bas an appalling tale to tell of the misery wrought in that unhappy country by tbe wars of Edward III They drained England of men and money but except for an occasional raid—the most important was a sack of Portsmouth in the last years of the war—the fighting was not on English soil and

the sovereign's constant need of money afforded an opportunity for some constitutional development In 1341 when Edward returned from Flanders to make preparations for the prosecution of the war he was made to promise that he would consult Parliament about the appointment of his ministers and that Parliament should have the right of inquiring into their conduct of affairs and especially into the expenditure of the national revenue This system if it had been carried out would have led to the dominance of a baronial committee like the Lords Ordainers but Edward almost at once withdrew his promise and subsequently obtained from a Parliament the repeal of the statute in which it was embodied The Parliament of 1341 had in fact demanded what was not to be realized until after 1689 For some years afterwards Edward obtained money easily enough by taxation or by loans for English trade was prosperous but supplies became a more difficult problem after the country had been devastated by one of the great calamities of history

In 1348 the terrible plague known as the Black Death which in the previous year had been spreading over Europe from the East reached England It spread rapidly over the country and its ravages lasted for some years and recurred in 1362 and in 1369 It took a specially heavy toll of the labouring classes and as labour became difficult to obtain wages rose and with the rise of wages came inevitably a rise in prices Parliament tried in the Statute of Labourers of 1351 to keep both wages and prices at their old level but the statute was inoperative Landlords and farmers had to make the best bargain they could to obtain labour for seed time or harvest The serf or villein if he ran away from his master's land could easily obtain high wages for his labour his new master would conceal and protect him and in the existing condition of the country he was not likely to be captured and brought back In view of this some lords of manors though by no means all of them retained the villeins on their lands by accepting money

payments instead of forced and unwilling services and bargained with them if they required their labour This process of commutation of villein services for money had begun before the Black Death but it was encouraged by the new conditions produced by the plague Other lords of manors and specially the monks took the alternative course of insisting upon villein services

The expenses of the French war told heavily upon a country which was undergoing great economic changes and the Parliaments of the reign of Edward III tried to place checks upon the royal expenditure Their object was to make sure that the money which they voted was really used for the war and they asked on several occasions that men chosen by themselves should be authorized to inspect the accounts Edward who did really want to spend the money on the war had no objection to granting this demand and it came to be frequent for Parliament to exercise this right This power if its meaning had been fully understood and if the Parliament of that age had been able to use it, would have provided a means of controlling the policy of the Crown but Parliament in the fourteenth century was not ready to govern the country The House of Commons was only in gradual process of formation knights of the shires and burgesses were finding a common interest in sending petitions to the king and asking that these petitions should be made into statutes or laws Yet when in the reign of Edward III Parliament and especially the Commons made bargains with the sovereign before granting him money when they said that he must redress their grievances before they voted supplies for his needs when they objected to his taking taxes which they had not granted when they inquired into his expenditure and when they criticized his policy and the conduct of his ministers they were laying the foundations of parliamentary government in years to come They themselves were not thinking about the distant future and did not aim at establishing rules of constitutional procedure for all time They were deal

ing with the difficulties of their own day but the devices they adopted proved to be capable of development in later generations

Perhaps the most important step taken by the Parliament was its treatment of Edward III s ministers in the end of the reign In his last years Edward became the victim of indolence and vice and he ceased to exercise any influence over the conduct of affairs His court was divided into two opposing factions one led by the Black Prince and the other by John of Gaunt who returned from his unsuccessful French campaign in 1375 The two brothers were on bad terms John of Gaunt had married the heiress of Henry Duke of Lancaster (grandson of the Thomas of Lancaster who had opposed Edward II) and the great territorial possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster had passed to him The Black Prince was in bad health and his son Richard known from the place of his birth as Richard of Bordeaux was a boy of eight John of Gaunt was believed to aim at the succession to the crown The king s ministers had been ruling badly and in 1376 the Good Parliament supported by the Black Prince brought charges against the ministers and one of them Lord Latimer was sentenced to imprisonment and the forfeiture of his possessions This is the first instance of the device of Impeachment by which Parliaments in the future were to obtain the dismissal and punishment of ministers of whose acts and policy they disapproved The Black Prince died while the Good Parliament was sitting and his death made John of Gaunt the most powerful person in the kingdom but he was compelled to promise to rule in accordance with the advice of a committee of lords nominated in Parliament He broke his word recalled Latimer and in 1377 summoned a Parliament which was packed with his own supporters and it undid the work of the Good Parliament His victory did not bring him all that he wished for when Edward III died in June 1377 he was succeeded by the son of the Black Prince and a new Parliament again got rid

of Latimer and insisted that during the minority of the sovereign the ministers should be chosen by itself

The twenty two years of the reign of Richard II (1377–99) were almost continuously troubled It would have been wise to abandon the French war and the relics of the French possessions but the new Government allowed the two years truce which had been made in 1375 to expire without the conclusion of a permanent peace and the French attacked the south coast England instead of France began to fear an invasion Military and naval operations including unsuccessful English expeditions to France went on interrupted by truces until in 1395 Richard then a widower married the daughter of Charles VI of France The expense and the failure of the war added to the domestic discontents which marked the reign

The internal problems were religious and social as well as financial The reign of Edward III had witnessed a growing jealousy of papal intervention in what Parliament regarded as the domestic affairs of the nation Dislike of such interference was increased by the circumstance that throughout almost the whole of Edward s reign the Popes were resident on French soil at Avignon and were therefore believed to be partisans of France The Statute of Provisors had been passed in 1351 to prevent the Pope from making appointments to benefices in England and the Statute of Præmunire in 1353 to prevent the trial in the papal court of cases which ought to be tried in the king s court These statutes did not put an end to the grievances which they were intended to suppress and opposition to papal interference was strong at the date of Richard s accession It was led by John Wycliffe an Oxford teacher who held the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire *Wycliffe attacked* the abuses both of the Papacy and of the Church in England though at first he did not question the spiritual authority of the Pope or the orthodox doctrine about the sacraments of the Church In the end of the reign of Edward III John of Gaunt whose party were

The riots began in Kent and Essex and spread to Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridge As the rising increased the rebels began to march to London in order to attack the unpopular ministers and obtain from the young king the grant of their demands Sympathizers in the city opened the gates on 13th June 1381 and the rebels sacked and burned the houses of their enemies including John of Gaunt s palace of the Savoy Richard a boy of fourteen took refuge in the Tower along with his advisers including the Chancellor and the Treasurer The city was in the hands of the peasants and the ministers thoroughly terrified agreed that the king should meet the rebels at Mile End and answer their demands Next day Richard went to Mile End and met the rebels under their leader Wat Tyler who demanded the abolition of serfdom the redress of some other grievances and a free pardon for all the rebels even for those who had been guilty of murder Richard granted all the demands but before he could return to the Tower, Tyler and the peasants had obtained access to it and had murdered Sudbury and Hales That night London was plundered many houses were burned and many citizens were murdered On the 15th Richard had a second interview with the rebels at Smithfield and when Wat Tyler used insolent language to the young king and attacked one of his attendants he was killed by the Mayor of London His followers fingered their bows and arrows and threatened to shoot but the boy rode across to them saying Will you shoot your king? I will be your chief and captain His courage saved the situation and in a short time the mayor and a band of citizens surrounded the rebels London was safe and in a few weeks the rebellion was suppressed elsewhere

The king s promise to the rebels extorted by force was not kept Rebels who had been guilty of murder and other crimes were put to death but after some months a general pardon was issued. Serfdom was not abolished and it cannot be said that the Peasants

Revolt did anything to help its extinction Economic causes were slowly bringing about its disappearance and these causes gradually produced their effects, but while the Peasants Revolt in some instances made lords of manors insist upon all their rights over their serfs it seems to have had little influence in the opposite direction It did not even put an end to the attempt to enforce the Statute of Labourers for it was re-enacted a few years later

The Peasants Revolt and the Wycliffite movement are the most interesting social and political events of the reign of Richard II In constitutional history it has some importance When Richard undertook the government he followed the advice of Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford and Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk De Vere was the head of an ancient family and De la Pole was the founder of what came to be a great family one of the first of the English families which owed their rise to commerce His grandfather was a merchant in Hull and his father also a Hull merchant and mayor of the town had lent money to finance the wars of Edward III He himself had abandoned a commercial for a military life had served under the Black Prince and had been the tutor or governor of the boy king who in 1385 made him an earl. His career is an interesting illustration of the growing importance of the commercial classes Oxford and Suffolk became unpopular, for the French war brought no triumphs and more than once the country was alarmed by threats of invasion Among their opponents was Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester the youngest son of Edward III Under his influence Parliament in 1386 demanded the dismissal of the two ministers, and when the young king retorted scornfully that he would not allow any one to force him to dismiss even a scullion from his kitchen he was reminded of the fate of Edward II Richard yielded for the time and dismissed Oxford and Suffolk and the latter was impeached by Parliament and sentenced to imprisonment and a heavy fine The

incident shows the value of the weapon of impeachment but it also shows how this weapon might be misused for Suffolk did not have fair treatment and the attack upon him was inspired by the personal ill will and jealousy of the Duke of Gloucester

Then Richard released Suffolk and in 1387 there was a baronial rebellion led by Gloucester and Henry Earl of Derby the eldest son of John of Gaunt who with their allies were known as the Lords Appellants because they appealed or accused Suffolk and Oxford of treason The two earls escaped and Gloucester proposed to carry out the threat of deposition upon Richard but the Merciless Parliament of 1388 did not go so far as this though it put to death a number of the royal servants The Appellants were a factious and greedy body of barons and they were divided among themselves and were only in power for a year Then Richard got rid of them and for nine years (1389–97) ruled England well and was able to make an expedition to Ireland where English authority had been decreasing ever since the reign of Edward II Gloucester was constantly intriguing against him but Richard's power seemed to be secure until he himself adopted a new policy which brought about his ruin

Contemporaries thought that there was a change in the king's character after the death of his first and greatly beloved wife Anne of Bohemia in an outbreak of plague in 1394 but it was not until 1397 that he took any violent step In that year he accused of treason Gloucester and two of his supporters the Earls of Arundel and Warwick The last mentioned confessed something—exactly what we do not know—and his life was spared but Arundel was executed and Gloucester who had also made a confession was murdered in prison All three had been Lords Appellants in 1388 and another of that body Thomas Mowbray Earl of Nottingham came to believe that Richard's real intention was revenge upon all his old opponents though he himself had recently been on the king's side and

had been made Duke of Norfolk In 1398 Norfolk confided his suspicions to Derby who had also been supporting Richard and had been made Duke of Here ford An accusation of treason was brought by Hereford against Norfolk it was arranged that the two dukes should meet in single combat to decide the question of guilt but a royal order stopped the duel just as it was about to begin Norfolk was banished for life and Hereford for six years

Why Richard treated Hereford in this way is a mystery For the last nine years Hereford s father John of Gaunt, had been his loyal friend and supporter and he had been on good terms with his cousin as well as with his uncle Worse followed Early in 1399 John of Gaunt died and Richard confiscated the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster which should have passed to Hereford That act of injustice was the beginning of his downfall Hereford knew that there was again much unrest in the country Richard was very ex travagant and extravagance meant oppression and extortion In 1398 he had persuaded a Parliament to grant him money for life and to entrust its own powers to a small committee over which royal influence would be strong He had boasted that he could do as he liked with his subjects property and his treatment of Hereford showed that the claim was no idle boast His injured cousin determined to invade England to claim his rights and if fortune favoured him more than his rights

Fortune did favour him for Richard not suspecting any danger made a second expedition to Ireland in the early summer of 1399 In the end of June Hereford landed in England and collected an army The Duke of York a younger brother of John of Gaunt had been made regent but after an attempt at resistance he joined the invader as did others whom Richard trusted When the unfortunate king brought back the army which he had taken to Ireland his troops began to desert We do not know the whole story or why it was

# CHAPTER XI

## THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR—II

The settlement of the throne in 1390 was made not in accordance with the doctrine of primogeniture but by Parliament Richard was deposed and Parliament did not intend that a deposition should be followed by a minority Nobody put forward the claim of the little Mortimer boy The misdeeds of Richard were proclaimed by Parliament as affording good reason for his deposition and it was Parliament that placed the new king on the throne It is true that Parliament had no real choice in the matter for Henry was already in possession of power and had an army behind him but it is also true that his legal right depended upon parliamentary recognition The English Parliament in 1399 unmade and then made a king The monarchy of the House of Lancaster which received from Parliament its right of hereditary succession stood on a different footing from the monarchy of Edward I or of Edward III and Parliament would expect to exercise a new influence upon the policy of the king

Henry IV had a troubled reign While Richard lived conspiracies were certain to arise and though Richard was murdered within a few months rebellions and conspiracies were to be the feature by which the rule of Henry is generally remembered At the very beginning he found himself in difficulties with the Scots and the Welsh The Scots had been constant

that the brave boy who had compelled the respect of the rebel peasants eighteen years earlier found himself without friends in his greatest need Whether by political oppression and misrule or from a degradation of his own character—he was accused of drunkenness and debauchery—Richard had alienated all the elements to which a monarch may generally look for support and he surrendered to his cousin

Henry had been known from his birthplace as Henry of Bolingbroke and he had been Earl of Derby and Duke of Hereford He was now to be not Henry of Lancaster but King Henry IV (1399–1413) He was not the direct heir to the throne Richard was the only descendant of the Black Prince but the second son of Edward III Lionel Duke of Clarence had left a daughter Philippa who had married Edmund Mortimer Earl of March Their son Roger Earl of March had just died but his child Edmund Earl of March was the nearest heir to Richard II

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allies of the French and during the long French war had been gradually regaining portions of southern Scotland seized by the English after the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. Expeditions against them had been made at different times by Edward III, by John of Gaunt (who was fortunate enough to be in Scotland when the peasants burned his palace in 1381) and by Richard II. They refused to recognize Henry IV, and in 1400 he made an invasion of Scotland but effected nothing. Two years later the Scots raiding in England were defeated at Homildon Hill in Northumberland. More serious was a rebellion in Wales led by Owen Glendower which continued for some years.

For the defence of the north against the Scots Henry depended upon the Earl of Northumberland, the head of the great family of Percy, one of the friends of Richard II who had deserted him when Henry landed in Yorkshire. But the Percies thought their services insufficiently rewarded, and they obtained the help of the Welsh and the Scots and raised a rebellion which Henry suppressed in the Battle of Shrewsbury in July 1403. His difficulties continued for the French gave assistance to Owen Glendower and attacked the remnants of the English possessions in France while French and English sailors fought at sea. Meanwhile Parliament was complaining that taxation was as high as ever and was showing its consciousness of possessing a new authority by hampering the royal policy and making fresh demands for the control of expenditure. Then came a rebellion in Yorkshire raised by the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Nottingham (son of the Duke of Norfolk who had intended to fight a duel with Henry in 1398) and Richard Scrope Archbishop of York. The archbishop and Nottingham were captured and executed while Northumberland took refuge in Scotland. This rebellion of 1405 differs from the other rebellions and conspiracies of Henry's reign—they were many and we have not mentioned them all. The difference lies in the complicity of the Archbishop of

York Northumberland and Nottingham were self seeking and treacherous barons who made war on their sovereign for ambitious motives but Scrope was a good and widely respected bishop who had nothing to gain from a successful rebellion He himself declared that he took up arms because Henry was robbing his people and ruling them badly The taxes were as heavy as under Richard II the French war was no less of a failure and Wales was being lost by the king s negligence It is probable that Scrope thought that he was following the example of Langton when he opposed John and that he did not realize the real motives of his associates but the fact that he took part in the rebellion shows the existence of a feeling that Henry IV had failed as a king There were many who believed that Scrope spoke the truth when be said that he died for the laws and liberties of his country

In putting Scrope to death Henry behaved with meanness and deceit The Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel an old friend of Henry came to Yorkshire to plead for Scrope s life Henry promised to consider Arundel s plea but sentenced and executed Scrope without a proper trial before Arundel had a chance of speaking to him again The dead archbishop was regarded as a martyr and it was prophesied that Henry would suffer for his deed as Henry II had suffered for the death of Becket The prophecy was not fulfilled In the next three years Wales was recovered by Henry s eldest son and heir Harry of Monmouth in 1406 the heir to the throne of Scotland was captured by an English vessel while on his way to France the efforts of the French to seize the English possessions in France were not successful and a truce was made in 1407 The Earl of Northumberland who had troubled the north for several years was mortally wounded in a skirmish in the beginning of 1408

For his remaining five years England was peaceful and Henry was able to send troops to France to extend English influence by helping one French party against

another in a civil war But Henry himself was in constant ill health and he was troubled by family quarrels and especially by disputes with his eldest son He died in March 1413 after an unhappy reign Apart from the conspiracies and rebellions of his first eight years the rule of Henry IV is remarkable in constitutional and in ecclesiastical history Parliament did not lose the advantage which it had gained in 1399 by conferring a legal title to the throne upon a king who was not the direct heir The failures and troubles of the period from 1399 to 1408 and the king's bad health in his last years gave a series of opportunities which were persistently used Parliament constantly kept a check upon expenditure scolded Henry for the extravagance of his household exercised a strong influence upon his policy and made him give promises which were not kept by him or by his successors The Commons strengthened their position and insisted upon what was in the future to be one of their main claims—their special right to be consulted about grants of money made by Parliament to the king In 1407 Henry acknowledged their claim that such grants should be made by the Commons in the first place and assented to by the Lords the proposal was to originate in the Commons We can scarcely speak of this as a rule of the Constitution from 1407 it shows what the Commons wished to establish as a rule and what they were able to insist upon when the Crown was weak In constitutional history the reign marks the beginning of claims which were afterwards to become important

In ecclesiastical history the feature of the reign was the persecution of the Lollards John Wycliffe had died peacefully in 1384 but his followers were not left unmolested Although Wycliffe's influence was strongest not in his own country but in Bohemia to which his doctrines were carried by friends of Anne of Bohemia the wife of Richard II yet there was a sufficient number of English Lollards to alarm the ecclesiastical authorities Richard II had been accused of

was at Westminster The plot was discovered Old castle escaped and evaded capture for three years during which he engaged in many intrigues against Henry but he was caught in 1417 and put to death Legends grew up about him and these legends suggested to Shakespeare the character of Falstaff

The history of the reign of Henry V was determined by the condition of France Charles VI who had succeeded to the French throne as a boy in 1380 became insane about 1404 His heir was a boy and the country was divided into two great factions led respectively by the king's brother Louis Duke of Orleans and his cousin John Duke of Burgundy In 1407 Burgundy murdered Orleans and a civil war became inevitable The new Duke of Orleans married a daughter of the Count of Armagnac who became the leader of the Orleanists or Armagnacs Each side in turn invited English help and Henry IV sent aid first to the Burgundians and then to the Orleanists but it was ineffective and a truce was made in 1412 On the accession of Henry V the Burgundians again asked for English help and Henry resolved to renew the attempt of his great grandfather to conquer France

If it is possible to plead for Edward III that a doubtful interpretation of French law and custom gave him a right to the French throne no such plea can be made for Henry V If we grant that the crown had descended from Philip IV through his daughter Isabella to Edward III then on the same reasoning it passed after the death of Richard II to the daughter of his uncle Lionel Duke of Clarence and through her to her son and then to her grandson Edmund Mortimer Earl of March The English Parliament had decided that the throne of England should pass to the descendants of the younger brother John of Gaunt in preference to those of the elder brother Lionel of Clarence but this decision could not affect the claim to the crown of France If such a claim was still to be made the natural claimant would be the Earl of March

1417–18 the English achieved the conquest of almost the whole of Normandy and were besieging the capital Rouen when in the summer of 1418 an important change occurred in the internal situation of France The Orleanists had been conducting the government for the mad king Charles VI but in May 1418 the Burgundian faction in the city of Paris opened the gates to the Burgundians who massacred and drove out their opponents The Duke of Burgundy thus became the guardian of Charles VI and in this capacity he attempted though in vain to relieve Rouen The English starved its inhabitants into surrender Then the Orleanists under the young Dauphin afterwards Charles VII came to terms with John of Burgundy in the hope that both sections might unite to expel the English It was a critical moment for France for Henry was besieging Paris but any hope of French unity was speedily shattered In September 1419 the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy met and quarrelled at Montereau a town in northern France and the Duke was murdered by the Dauphin's followers His son and successor Philip the Good of Burgundy at once went over to the English side He was in possession of the king's person and he could negotiate in the king's name

By the Treaty of Troyes signed in May 1420 the unfortunate Charles VI was made to agree that Henry V should marry his daughter Katharine should be recognized as his successor to the exclusion of his own son and should act as regent during his lifetime The English king was further to enter into immediate possession of Normandy and the other districts of northern France which were in English military occupation Henry duly married the French princess but he had not conquered France He had defeated the French in one great battle in which many of the French nobility had perished and he had seized some portions of French territory But the Treaty of Troyes did not mean that France was beaten it meant rather that she had been betrayed by the jealousies and crimes of her natural leaders.

The Dauphin and his party continued the struggle and they obtained the help of the Scots The Scottish king James I was still an English prisoner but the regent sent Scottish troops to help the French and in March 1421 a French army which included a considerable number of Scotsmen defeated the English at Baugé The battle showed the French that their enemy was not invincible and the Dauphin s forces followed up their success Henry was in England when Baugé was fought, he returned at once to France and was engaged in restoring English authority when he died in August 1422 The good fortune which had brought him the promise of the crown of France was to prove the destruction of the House of Lancaster

Henry VI (1422–61) was less than a year old when his father died The dying king had left the regency of France to his brother, John Duke of Bedford and had appointed another brother Humphrey Duke of Glou cester regent of England The mad French king died a few weeks after his son in law, and Bedford kept on good terms with the Burgundians knowing as Henry V had known that English power in France depended on the maintenance of the Anglo Burgundian alliance It was the more creditable to Bedford that he succeeded in doing this because his brother Gloucester imperilled the alliance by marrying the Countess of Hainault and Holland who was already the wife of a member of the House of Burgundy He could not obtain from the Pope Martin V a decision that the lady s first marriage was invalid but he got such a decision elsewhere There had been a long schism in the Papacy, a period when rival Popes had the allegiance of different countries This unhappy period had been closed in 1418 by the Council of Constance which restored unity to the Church but one of the anti Popes who had been deposed by the Council was still alive and he gave the required judgment. Gloucester was so utterly regardless of English interests in France that he twice invaded his wife s dominions in opposition to her Burgundian

husband but his efforts were so feeble that Philip of Burgundy did not break off his alliance with Bedford He knew that Bedford entirely disapproved of his brother's proceedings and that Gloucester was also causing Bedford much trouble in England The English Parliament had not carried out the will of Henry V in regard to the English regency and had declared that Gloucester should rule only when Bedford was in France and the latter was from time to time recalled to England to undo mischief done by Gloucester Not only did Bedford retain the Burgundian alliance he also weakened the Franco Scottish alliance by releasing James I of Scotland James kept peace with England for many years and though he did not prevent his subjects from helping the French they went to France in smaller numbers after the king s return

For some years the English hold on France seemed not to be weakened English armies won battles and captured fortresses The turning point in the struggle came in 1429 when the English were besieging the city of Orleans The raising of the siege of Orleans is the most wonderful story in European history A young peasant girl Jeanne Darc came to Charles VII the son of the mad king and told him that angel voices had commanded her to save Orleans from the English and to conduct the king to Reims to be crowned in the great cathedral in which his predecessors had received the crown of France Reims was held by the English and the whole story seemed like the fantasy of a mad woman but the girl had some mysterious influence which made Charles listen to her and she accompanied the army to Orleans There she succeeded in obtaining access to the city and she inspired the garrison to deeds of daring and endurance which compelled the English to withdraw they believed that Joan of Arc as they called her was a witch who used sorcery and enchantments against them Further successes enabled her to perform what had seemed to be her impossible promise and in July 1429 Reims opened its gates to her and

Charles VII was crowned King of France She had driven the English from a large district of France and had inspired French soldiers to fight as they had never fought before

Her triumph was swiftly followed by disaster She promised Charles VII to give Paris to him but her attempt to capture it failed the king s confidence in her was shaken and she began to lose faith in her own destiny Charles and his advisers were jealous and incompetent they wasted time while Bedford brought fresh troops from England and made a new bargain with Philip of Burgundy whose loyalty to the English alliance had been wavering In 1430 the Maid of France inadequately supported made an attack upon a Burgundian force was captured and sold to the English They tried her as a witch and she was found guilty and burned to death in the market place at Rouen on 29th May 1431 She was only eighteen years of age, and though her life ended in defeat and torture she was the real saviour of France

It did not seem so at first The English power in France appeared to recover from the disaster which had overtaken it during the brief but brilliant military career of the Maid But in 1434 the peasants of Normandy were in rebellion against the English the people of Paris were waiting for an opportunity to revolt and Philip of Burgundy was making up his mind to desert his allies The English cause in France was already doomed In 1435 at the Congress of Arras Charles VII offered to give up Normandy to the English if they would abandon the claim to the French throne and withdraw form the other districts of France which were still in their occupation The offer was declined With a foolish obstinacy the English clung to the policy of Henry V Burgundy joined the French and the English lost their best leader by the death of Bedford a few days after the Congress broke up But the English hold upon France was so strong that it took the French many years to expel them In those years there were several truces

and several attempts to make peace but the French were constantly gaining ground Normandy the first conquest of Henry V was the last portion of northern France to be left to his son Paris fell in 1436 but Rouen not until 1449 The discomfiture of the English was completed by a great defeat at Formigny near Bayeux in the spring of 1450 The loss of Normandy was followed by the loss of Guienne but a final effort was made to recover it and the effort was temporarily successful At last in the summer of 1453 Guienne again fell into French hands and the capture of Bordeaux in October of that year may be regarded as the end of the Hundred Years War France united after the Congress of Arras and inspired by the deeds of the Maid had recovered her independence and only Calais was left to the son of the victor of Agincourt

# CHAPTER VII

## THE WARS OF THE ROSES

The final years of Henry VI's reign, that saw the fall of the House of Lancaster, were years of misfortune and anxiety for the king. He inherited a mental weakness from his grandfather Charles VI of France and he was incapable of asserting himself and governing the country, which led to him being manipulated by others. He was married in 1445 at the age of twenty-three to the young daughter of René Duke of Anjou. The marriage treaty was part of a series of negotiations to make peace with France and the disappointment of the English at the failure of the negotiations made the match unpopular.

When Margaret of Anjou came to England she found that her husband was governed by two ministers. One was Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset grandson of John of Gaunt and a cousin of Henry VI. He had been the king's representative in France and was blamed for the military disasters in that country. The other was William de la Pole Earl and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, a grandson of the unpopular minister of Richard II. It was Suffolk who was responsible for the queen's marriage and she soon came to share her husband's confidence in him. Somerset and Suffolk were opposed by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and in 1447 they accused him of treason and arrested him. He died a few days later, probably by murder and though he had played

a consistently mischievous part in politics and had advocated the prolongation of the war he was personally very popular and his mysterious death increased the general dissatisfaction with the government of Henry VI A new leader was found to oppose the ministers and he was a much more dangerous person than Gloucester

The enemies of the House of Lancaster could always use the argument that Henry IV had not been the rightful heir to the throne and we have seen that Henry V had to deal with a conspiracy to place upon the throne the Earl of March great grandson of Lionel Duke of Clarence The leader of the conspiracy had been the Earl of Cambridge a son of the Duke of York who had married the sister of March Cambridge was beheaded for his share in the conspiracy but he left a son who succeeded to the dukedom of York Richard of York on his father s side was descended from a younger brother of John of Gaunt and his claim to the throne would therefore not have been so good as that of the House of Lancaster but through his mother the sister and heiress of the Earl of March (who had died childless in 1425) he inherited the descent from Lionel of Clarence elder brother of John of Gaunt and he was the direct heir of Edward *III* by the rules of primogeniture

The House of Lancaster had been half a century on the throne and York would not have found it easy to raise a rebellion against his cousin merely on the ground that he had by right of birth a claim to the throne which might be regarded as better than the claim conferred by Parliament upon the Lancastrians But if Parliament and the nation were dissatisfied with the rule of Henry VI the Yorkist pretension to a superior right would prove useful in attracting supporters and in providing a battle cry to unite men who for different reasons were already inclined to oppose the existing government

This dangerous situation was produced by the failure in France Disasters in Normandy were followed by the impeachment of Suffolk Parliament which had

always been a severe critic of Lancastrian government itself began the movement which was ultimately to destroy the monarchy that Parliament had created Richard of York was not personally responsible though he had good reason to hate Suffolk and Somerset, for he had been deprived of a command in France in which he had won distinction, and had been sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant He was in Ireland in the beginning of 1450 when Suffolk was impeached but his friends were prominent among the accusers Henry VI always loyal to his supporters tried to save Suffolk by banishing him but the minister was captured at sea and murdered His murder was followed by the defeat at Formigny (*cf* p 172) and the defeat by a popular rising in Kent and Sussex led by Jack Cade There is no evidence that York was connected with the rebellion but one of the demands of the rebels was that he should be recalled from Ireland and employed as Henry's minister The hatred which had been felt towards Suffolk was equally strong against Somerset and he was accused of having lost the king's dominions in France and of misgoverning England Unlike the Peasants Revolt Cade's rebellion was a political not a social rebellion though the Statute of Labourers was one of the grievances of the rebels They marched on London in July 1450 succeeded in entering the city and murdered the Lord Treasurer Lord Saye Their ravages roused the citizens to the defence of the city, and the rebels were defeated in a skirmish upon London Bridge

Henry's confidence in Somerset was not shaken by the duke's unpopularity and Richard of York perceived that his opportunity had come He returned from Ireland and his friends in the House of Commons urged that he should be recognized as heir to the throne the king's marriage being as yet childless Henry resented the suggestion and further quarrelled with Parliament by imprisoning the member who made it The House of Commons had been strengthened by an Act of 1430 which restricted the franchise to freeholders whose land

The small but decisive action known as the first Battle of St Albans proved to be the beginning of the Wars of the Roses so called from badges worn by the opposing parties—the Red Rose of Lancaster and the White Rose of York. But four years intervened before the next battle. York governed England during the first year as Henry's minister when he was sane and as regent when the king suffered from a return of his malady. When Henry again recovered in October 1456 York ceased to be minister and the government of the country rapidly degenerated while the Lancastrians who owed the throne to Parliament gave up summoning Parliaments. There was no rebellion though there must have been much discontent and it was the queen who was sufficiently unwise to renew the quarrel with York by raising an army which was obviously to be used against him although since the birth of the Prince of Wales he had been silent about his claim to the throne. York accepted the challenge and at first the queen seemed to be justified by success. In 1459 the Yorkists won a skirmish and lost another and the queen summoned a packed Parliament at Coventry which attainted York and all his supporters including Richard Neville Earl of Warwick who was to be the most prominent figure in the coming struggle. The one fled to Ireland and the other to Calais to prepare for an invasion of England.

In June 1460 Warwick landed in Kent and marched to London where the citizens were partisans of the Yorkists. Thence he went to do battle at Northampton where in July he defeated Henry and brought him to London. There he was soon joined by York who claimed the throne. A Parliament was sitting and it refused to acknowledge that a Parliament had acted illegally in 1399 by conferring the crown upon the House of Lancaster. Richard of York had to be content with being acknowledged as heir to the throne to the exclusion of the young son of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. Henry accepted the compromise but Margaret mindful of the interests of her son would have nothing to say

was worth forty shillings a year The sum meant much more then than it does to-day and the effect of the Act was to render the country members representative of the country squires and farmers who farmed their own land The borough members were representatives of the prosperous merchants and the interests of the two classes which formed the House were much the same The strength of the House came from the union of squire and merchant to demand good government and fight taxation The two aims were not compatible for good government costs money and the House did not possess experience and knowledge to fit it to take a great part in the government

Richard of York had other supporters besides the House of Commons a majority of which supported his claim to the succession He was related by marriage to the great family of Neville which possessed several earldoms and to the Duke of Norfolk the greatest landowner in England In 1452 he made an unsuccessful rebellion but was reconciled to and forgiven by the placable Henry A sterner king would have put him to death even though he had been cajoled into submission by promises that were not fulfilled but Henry was not the man to solve his problems by committing a crime Another kind of solution soon came to be probable for in 1453 Henry became insane If Henry had remained insane and childless York would have ruled England as regent and ultimately as king But just before the king s madness had reached such a pitch that it could no longer be concealed a son Edward was born to him York did become regent and he governed well but in the end of 1454 Henry recovered The queen and Somerset at once threatened York by declaring that he was the king s enemy He took up arms defeated the Lancastrians at the first Battle of St Albans (May 1455) gained possession of the king s person and conducted the government in his name Somerset had been killed in the fighting and Margaret of Anjou had lost her strongest supporter

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to it She collected an army and at Wakefield in York shire in December 1460 she defeated the Yorkists, the Duke of York was killed in the battle His rights passed to his son Edward who as Earl of March had distinguished himself in the fighting at Northampton

From Wakefield Margaret marched with her army upon London She had made her way to Scotland after her husband s defeat at Northampton and had asked for Scottish aid against the Yorkists The Scots had just driven the English from Roxburgh and of the Scottish territory in English hands there remained only the town of Berwick on Tweed The Scots agreed to provide troops in return for the surrender of Berwick and Mar garet s wild levies from Scotland and the north of England could not be restrained from plundering as they marched through the Midlands Warwick who since the death of Richard of York had been the leader of the Yorkists came out from London to St Albans to meet the enemy bringing with him the captive Henry VI At the second Battle of St Albans fought on 17th February 1461 Margaret defeated Warwick and rescued her husband It would have been better for the Lan castrian cause if the enemy had succeeded in retaining possession of his person The queen proposed to march on London and seize the capital but the pious king would not expose the city to being sacked by his wife s fierce troops and he insisted upon negotiations Negotiations meant delay and in the interval Warwick and the young Duke of York relieved London which Mar garet did not feel strong enough to attack after a Yorkist force had entered it In March York was crowned as Edward IV (1461–83) he claimed the throne by right of birth and he held that Henry IV Henry V and Henry VI had all been usurpers and that Parliament had no authority to settle the succession to the crown

Meanwhile the Lancastrians retreated to Yorkshire where Edward followed them and completely defeated them at Towton (March 1461) the battle was fought in a snowstorm which blinded the Lancastrian archers

Henry and Margaret fled to Scotland where the surrender of Berwick made them for a time welcome guests But they received no substantial help and in 1462–63 Margaret assisted by Louis XI of France who had just succeeded his father Charles VII made an unsuccessful attempt in Northumberland In her flight she and her son Prince Edward were saved by an outlawed robber, who took them on his horse and brought them safe to Bamborough Castle one of the very few remaining Lancastrian strongholds Thence they escaped to France Margaret was still in France when a Lancastrian rising in Northumberland was suppressed in two battles at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham in the spring of 1464 Henry VI had been left behind when his wife fled to France loyal Lancastrians kept him safe for some years but he was betrayed and captured in 1466

From 1461 to 1464 Edward IV had been guided by the Earl of Warwick alike in domestic and in foreign policy There was still strong jealousy between the Duke of Burgundy the old ally of Bedford and the King of France and when Louis XI helped the Lancastrians Warwick planned to restore the Burgundian alliance But Louis XI soon came to regard the cause of the House of Lancaster as hopeless and made peace After this Warwick desired friendship with France and in 1464 he was busy arranging a marriage between Edward and a sister in law of the French king But Edward had made up his mind to please himself and he secretly married Elizabeth Grey the widow of a Lancastrian knight who had been killed at the second Battle of St Albans Her father Sir J ... Woodville had also been a Lancastrian but had joined the Yorkists after Towton and his royal son-in-law afterwards made him Earl Rivers Edward's marriage was of great importance for it was the principal cause of the gift gave to the Earl of Warwick [illegible] of the King maker

Warwick believed that Edward would take this as to [illegible] and he hoped to marry [illegible] at the age of

twenty three the influence he had exerted at his accession when he was nineteen The abandonment of his policy of a French alliance and the favours showered by Edward upon the queen s numerous Woodville relations naturally irritated Warwick and gradually weakened his friendship with the king but it was not until 1467 that he ceased to be his chief minister Edward played a mean trick upon Warwick He pretended to accept the earl s advice on the question of a French alliance and sent him to negotiate with Louis XI While the earl was in France Edward made an agreement with Burgundy and when Warwick returned bringing with him French envoys the king treated both him and them with scant courtesy and began to prepare for a renewal of the French war in order to recover the old possessions in France the war never took place for Charles the Bold of Burgundy who had succeeded his father Philip made terms with France in 1469

Meanwhile Warwick had been plotting a rebellion—not to depose Edward but to compel him to abandon Earl Rivers and his other ministers He himself went to Calais ostensibly to perform his duties as governor of that town Thither also went the king s brother George Duke of Clarence whose proposed marriage with Warwick s daughter had been forbidden by the king He chose well his time of departure for he had instigated a rising in the north and Edward had gone to suppress it Before the king could return to London Warwick brought the garrison of Calais to the capital Edward who had found the insurrection much more troublesome than he expected was captured in July 1469 by Warwick s followers and the earl was once more in power He put to death the queen s father Earl Rivers and her brother and he believed that he had permanently re established his own authority and that Edward frightened by his recent experiences would be a puppet in his hands

This was what Edward IV was determined not to be and he staked his throne upon the result of a struggle

with Warwick In March 1470 he raised an unnecessarily large force to quell some disorders and took the opportunity of denouncing Warwick Clarence and their adherents as traitors They fled to France where Louis XI reconciled Warwick with Margaret of Anjou The two exiles agreed to depose Edward and Warwick repeated the trick which had succeeded in 1469 There was a rising of the Nevilles in the north Edward left London to suppress it and Warwick and Clarence landed at Dartmouth and made their way to London Edward's troops deserted him and he escaped to Burgundy Warwick brought Henry VI from his prison in the Tower and agreed to repay his debt to Louis XI by invading Burgundy This bargain brought its inevitable result for Charles of Burgundy gave Edward an army to reconquer England

In March 1471 Edward invaded Yorkshire His brother Clarence whose interests had not been consulted in the agreement between Warwick and Queen Margaret changed sides and Edward succeeded in reaching London whence he marched out to meet Warwick at Barnet There in a thick mist on 14th April the King maker was defeated and slain That very day, Margaret and Prince Edward who had hitherto remained in France landed at Weymouth and were joined by a considerable number of Lancastrians but in May they were defeated by Edward at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire and the young Prince of Wales the last hope of the House of Lancaster was killed in the fighting A few days later Henry VI was murdered in the Tower

For twelve years Edward IV ruled England so well that there is little history to record Once in 1475 he invaded France in the interests of Charles of Burgundy who had married his sister Margaret but when Louis XI offered him a sum of money and a pension of ten thousand pounds a year he deserted his ally and returned home The French pension and profits from the confiscation of the estates of those who had fought against him in England made him comparatively rich and he

rarely summoned Parliaments One of the few Parliaments of these years met in 1478 to pass sentence upon the Duke of Clarence with whom Edward had quarrelled He was condemned as a traitor and died mysteriously a week or two after his condemnation It was believed that he had been drowned in a cask of Malmsey wine The most important event of Edward's last years was the recovery in 1482 of the town of Berwick which Margaret of Anjou had restored to the Scots In his last months he meditated another campaign against Louis XI but his death in March 1483 at the age of forty prevented his carrying out his intention

Edward IV left among other children two sons of whom the elder a boy of twelve reigned for a few months as Edward V The regent was his uncle Richard Duke of Gloucester who had been the chief minister of Edward IV in his later years Gloucester made up his mind to seize the throne He sent the young king and his brother Richard Duke of York to the Tower and laid his plans for the succession Some of the nobility he persuaded to adopt his cause the most important of them was Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham one of the late king's councillors Another of the advisers of Edward IV Lord Hastings refused his overtures and Gloucester made an example of him by arresting him at the Council table and ordering his execution without trial Then he asserted that Edward IV had never been lawfully married and that his children could not succeed to the throne Clarence had been an elder brother of Gloucester and his children by his marriage with the daughter of the King maker would be the next heirs but Gloucester insisted that their father's condemnation as a traitor invalidated their claim He himself stood next in the succession and the throne was his by right A Parliament accepted his theory and invited him to become king On 6th July 1483 Richard III (1483–85) was crowned at Westminster About a month afterwards his nephews Edward V and the Duke of York were murdered in the Tower almost two

centuries later in 1674 their skeletons were found under a staircase

Richard III put many of his opponents to death but the murder of the princes in the Tower was a crime which shocked his own followers Within a few months Buckingham was involved in a conspiracy against him Its object was to place on the throne Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond whose mother the Lady Margaret Beaufort was a great granddaughter of John of Gaunt and the heiress of the House of Lancaster although she was descended from a marriage of John of Gaunt which was of doubtful validity and the children of which had been declared by Parliament to be incapable of succeeding to the throne On his father s side Richmond was the grandson of Queen Katharine the widow of Henry V who had married a Welsh squire named Owen Tudor but this descent could of course give him no claim to the English crown It was proposed to remedy the defect of Richmond s title by marrying him to Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Edward IV and thus uniting the Red and the White Rose The attempt failed and Buckingham was beheaded in November 1483 but Richmond who had been living in Brittany and had only just landed when he heard of the disaster to his cause made his way back to safety

Richard III kept the throne for nearly two years after Buckingham s rebellion He made an unsuccessful intervention in Scotland and he tried to kidnap Richmond in Brittany but the only result was to drive him into France where he received support from the regents for the young Charles VIII Thence he kept up a correspondence with his English supporters Richard s reign was unhappy he lost his wife and his only son by death and he was in constant fear of invasion and insurrection Both came in the summer of 1485 In August Richmond landed at Milford Haven and received support from his Welsh countrymen As he advanced he was joined by English enemies of Richard III and he knew that many of Richard s adherents

were ready to desert him The most important of these was Thomas Lord Stanley who though he had married Lady Margaret Beaufort and was Richmond's stepfather was still trusted by Richard At the Battle of Bosworth fought on 22nd August 1485 Stanley refused to obey Richard's orders but did not actually fight against him The Stanleys however turned the fortunes of the day for Sir William Stanley Lord Stanley's brother attacked Richard's troops at the crisis of the battle and when the victory was won by Richmond and Richard had fallen on the field it was Lord Stanley who placed a light crown which the dead king had carried on his helmet upon the head of the victor

The Wars of the Roses may be said to have ended on Bosworth Field but there was an epilogue a final Yorkist effort Henry VII (1485–1509) was crowned in London in November Parliament acknowledged his title but did not confer it The arrangement made at the time of Buckingham's rebellion for a union of the Roses by Henry's marriage with the Princess Elizabeth could not be abandoned for Henry's power depended largely upon Yorkists who had opposed Richard III But Henry was determined not to reign as his wife's husband and it was as a crowned king in full possession of the government of the realm that he married Elizabeth in January 1486 His reign was dated from the day before the Battle of Bosworth and those who fought for Richard III thus became liable to attainder as traitors Those of the Yorkists who were discontented with the settlement of the crown looked for support to two quarters both outside England Margaret of Burgundy sister of Edward IV and widow of Charles the Bold pursued Henry VII with an inveterate hatred and was always ready to support plots against him Ireland—that is to say the English settlers in Ireland—had been Yorkist ever since Richard of York had been sent to Ireland in the reign of Henry VI and it was in Ireland that an attempt at a Yorkist restoration was made

The nearest Yorkist heir was Elizabeth the wife of Henry VII and the king's enemies could not propose to rebel in her name The Duke of Clarence had left a son who had succeeded to the title of his mother's father the Earl of Warwick the Clarence title was under attainder The young Earl of Warwick a boy of ten had been seized by Henry and imprisoned in the Tower but in 1486 the Yorkists produced a pretender whose real name was Lambert Simnel and took him to Ireland asserting that he was the Earl of Warwick and had escaped from the Tower Henry showed the real Warwick in the streets of London but this could not affect opinion in Ireland and Simnel was acknowledged as his cousin by the Earl of Lincoln the son of a sister of Clarence Lincoln accompanied the pretender to Dublin where he was solemnly crowned as "King Edward VI The intention of the Yorkists was not to set up an independent kingdom in Ireland but to conquer England and for this purpose Margaret of Burgundy supplied them with troops Lincoln with Simnel in his army invaded Lancashire but received little support and was defeated at Stoke near Newark in June 1487 Lincoln was killed in the fighting and Simnel was captured Any other sovereign of England would have executed the pretender without delay but Henry with a shrewd sense of humour made him a scullion in his kitchen and on one occasion employed him to wait at table upon some Irish lords who a few years before had done reverence to him as their king Simnel is the only pretender in English history who after being captured was contemptuously allowed to live out his life in a menial station

Henry was not to be free from pretenders but the Battle of Stoke in June 1487 may be said to close the civil war that began with the first Battle of St Albans in May 1455 The Wars of the Roses were the result of the French war Not only did the failure in France and the taxation required to support an unsuccessful war create widespread discontent, but the end of the

of Aragon whose marriage to Isabella Queen of Castile had united the two Spanish kingdoms and had made Spain a great European Power It was a formidable alliance but it achieved nothing for neither Henry nor Maximilian nor Ferdinand was in earnest English troops invaded Brittany in April 1489 and Maximilian made a separate peace with France in July Nevertheless Maximilian who was a widower was betrothed to Anne of Brittany in the spring of 1490 and in the end of the year his ambassador representing his master went through a formal ceremony of marriage with her But Maximilian never became Anne s husband He was unable to protect Brittany against the French and when Charles VIII in 1491 invaded Brittany and offered to marry the duchess she accepted the offer The comedy of the situation lay in the circumstance that Charles who thus snatched away Maximilian s bride had long ago been betrothed to Maximilian s daughter

It was no use to fight for Brittany which had thus passed to the French crown but Henry was determined to make something out of the whole affair and at all events to recoup himself for the expenses of the invasion of Brittany He did so by invading France avowedly to make good the title of King of France which he still professed to claim The invasion was a farce Henry landed at Calais in October 1492 and pretended to besiege Boulogne but he had long been engaged in negotiations with Charles VIII and peace was made in the beginning of November Charles VIII who was eager to start on an invasion of Italy agreed to pay Henry a sum of money and Henry accepted the bargain in the Treaty of Etaples. He knew that he could not recover the English possessions and he never intended to try It is true that by the Treaty of Etaples he deserted Maximilian but Maximilian had already deserted him

The common sense of Henry s bargain was immediately vindicated by events. Margaret of Burgundy had

found a new pretender with whom to vex her enemy Peter Warbeck or Osbeck was a Tournai youth of humble birth who came to be known in England as Perkin then a common diminutive of "Peter Charles VIII took some interest in the plot but after the Treaty of Etaples he dismissed Warbeck who took refuge in Burgundy There he was welcomed not only by Margaret the dowager-duchess but also by Maximilian who wanted revenge for Etaples Warbeck was declared to be Richard Duke of York the younger of the two princes who had in fact been murdered in the Tower Henry VII knew all about Warbeck s real history and treated the matter very lightly but some years later the impostor gave him considerable trouble The English Yorkists entered into conspiracies and in the beginning of 1495 Henry discovered that Sir William Stanley to whom he had largely owed the victory of Bosworth was plotting against him Stanley was tried and executed and the domestic conspiracy was nipped in the bud

Warbeck remained a useful tool in the hands of foreign Powers Maximilian gave him an army and he tried to land in Kent in the summer of 1495 but was repulsed Thence he went to Ireland where Henry s representative Sir Edward Poynings was attempting to restore English authority which had become slight even in the Anglo-Irish district on the east coast known as the English Pale In an Irish Parliament held at Drogheda in 1494 Poynings had passed a statute which deprived all future Irish Parliaments of the power of making laws without the consent of the king and his English Council and also gave all future laws passed by the English Parliament full force in Ireland. It was therefore impossible for the Anglo-Irish lords to treat Warbeck as they had treated Simnel and legally to acknowledge him as king After an unsuccessful attempt upon Waterford Warbeck went to Scotland where James IV espoused his cause and made a half hearted invasion of England on his behalf Taxation imposed for the Scottish war brought about a rebellion in Corn

wall and a band of Cornishmen threatened London but were easily suppressed in the summer of 1497 Warbeck left Scotland by sea landed in Cornwall in 1497 and attracted a following He tried to enter Exeter but had to flee and was captured at Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire He confessed his imposture his life was spared and he was imprisoned in the Tower

While Warbeck was engaged in his last effort James IV made another invasion of England but agreed to the Peace of Ayton Neither the Peace of Ayton nor the capture of Warbeck was the most important event of the year 1497 Some years earlier a Genoese sailor named John Cabot had settled in Bristol and in 1496 King Henry gave him authority to sail the seas in search of unknown lands The western world had just been startled by the discovery of America but a very small fragment of the great new continent was known In August 1497 Cabot returned to tell that he had reached an unknown part of the coast of North America His reports roused the enthusiasm of the merchants of Bristol and Cabot made a second expedition as the result of which though no kind of settlement was made England could assert a prior claim to some of the territory of the New World

The defeat of Warbeck did not entirely relieve Henry from plots and conspiracies but no later attempt gave him much anxiety One of the precautions taken against Warbeck proved to be of permanent value for the security of the dynasty In 1495 it was enacted by Parliament that a subject who obeyed the commands of a king *de facto*—that is a king in actual possession of the powers of the Crown—should not be liable to a sentence of forfeiture if that king should be deposed by another claimant to the throne This Act generally known as the *de facto* Statute of Treason rendered it the safe thing to obey King Henry and it helped to establish the Tudors on the throne Henry had made good use of the old law for as we have seen he ante dated his reign to the day before Bosworth Field in

order to treat Richard III s supporters as traitors ten years later he gave his subjects such assurance as it was possible to give that no successful enemy of his own could treat them in a similar manner

The peace with Scotland which followed King James s futile intervention on behalf of Perkin Warbeck was closely associated with the most important aspects of Henry s foreign policy Ever since the Breton question had brought him into contact with Spain the English king had hoped to procure for his new dynasty the prestige of a marriage alliance with that country then approaching the height of its greatness But the Spanish sovereigns regarded England with suspicion as a nation whose monarchy was never safe Within a period of about a hundred years there had been three great revolutions and some smaller ones three kings, Richard II Henry VI and Edward V had been murdered and one Richard III had been slain by rebels on the battlefield Ferdinand and Isabella hesitated to give a daughter of Spain to Prince Arthur the heir of Henry VII for the title of the Tudors was uncertain and the number of rebellions and conspiracies since 1485 had been large The support received by Perkin Warbeck alarmed them and they used their influence with James IV to persuade him to abandon the pretender James himself was ambitious of making a Spanish marriage and Ferdinand and Isabella encouraged his ambition without any intention of gratifying it in order to detach Scotland from Henry s enemies What they really wished was that James should marry Prince Arthur s sister Margaret an alliance which they hoped would put an end to Scottish support of pretenders to the English throne

Both the Spanish and the Scottish marriage came to pass and both had fateful results. Negotiations in both instances were protracted and Ferdinand and Isabella, in their anxiety for the security of the throne which their daughter was to share persuaded Henry to the one cruel deed that stains his reputation He had

been singularly merciful to pretenders Lambert Simnel was still alive and was to survive Henry by many years Perkin Warbeck was a prisoner in the Tower There was also in the Tower a State prisoner, the Earl of Warwick who had been guilty of no crime In 1499 he was accused of plotting with Perkin Warbeck and both were executed

In November 1501 Prince Arthur was married to the Princess Catharine of Aragon Five months later he died in Ludlow Castle In August 1503 his sister Margaret the elder of the two daughters of Henry VII who came to maturity married James IV The fruits of Henry's long and tedious diplomacy in Spain seemed to be lost but he at once began another series of negotiations His remaining son Prince Henry was nearly eleven when his brother died the widowed Spanish princess was sixteen Within two years an agreement was made for their marriage and a papal dispensation was obtained Henry VII lived for more than five years after the completion of the marriage treaty but he did not marry his son to Catharine of Aragon The reason was not the boy's tender age it was a time when child marriages were frequent Henry began to doubt if the match was a good one The greatness of Spain depended upon the union of Ferdinand's kingdom of Aragon with his wife Isabella's kingdom of Castile But Isabella died in 1504 and Castile passed to her daughter Joanna who had married a son of Henry's old enemy the Emperor Maximilian Henry himself was on the outlook for a wife his queen Elizabeth of York had died in 1503 He proposed to marry a sister of Maximilian and so to ally himself with the Castile party They were the opponents of Ferdinand of Aragon who wished to retain his authority over both of the Spanish kingdoms The lady declined the offer but soon afterwards Joanna became a widow She was mad but she was Queen of Castile and Henry offered her his hand There was an alternative plan for the marriage of Henry's younger sister Mary to Joanna's

son Charles who was the heir not only of Castile and Aragon but also through his father of Burgundy and the German dominions of the House of Hapsburg With these schemes in his mind Henry found excuse after excuse for delaying his son's marriage and the prince as a boy of fourteen was made to enter a solemn protest which was kept a profound secret that he held his marriage agreement to be null and void

From all this scheming and intrigue Henry gained nothing When he died in April 1509 a formal ceremony known as a marriage by proxy had taken place between Charles and Mary but the English princess was never in fact to be the wife of the richly dowered boy who was to become the Emperor Charles V Changes in the European situation were upsetting Henry's plans and the diplomacy of his last years was dishonest as well as futile Yet Henry VII must be regarded as a great English king for he had given the country order and good government had raised it again to the rank of a great European Power had increased English authority in Ireland and had laid the foundations of the ultimate union of the crowns of England and Scotland When his daughter Margaret married James IV some of his councillors had raised the objection that the day might come when a King of Scots would succeed to the crown of England Henry was not alarmed by the prospect The smaller kingdom he assured them would ever follow the larger

Henry was not a popular sovereign no man who did what England then needed could be popular After the first years of his reign he rarely summoned Parliament and he obtained money in other ways Forfeitures of the estates of his opponents filled his Treasury and when forfeitures came to an end he revived old rights of the Crown and he took benevolences or forced loans This practice had been forbidden by a statute passed under Richard III but Richard had not obeyed his own law and the Acts of Richard's Parliament were regarded as invalid Henry seized every

opportunity of exacting heavy fines from the nobility and strained the law in order to impoverish the class from whom rebellions were to be feared Two of his agents Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, became so notorious as extortioners that the next king sought popularity by finding an excuse for putting them to death Henry made the monarchy strong and rich and part of its strength lay in its often unjustly gotten wealth Other considerations tended to increase the power of the Crown The art of war was being changed by the growing use of gunpowder and in consequence the stone walls of the baronial castle were becoming less effective as a defence and the prestige of the bowmen was being diminished while the Crown could control the manufacture of gunpowder Above all the experiences of the Wars of the Roses had made the middle classes if not the barons content to obey any ruler who could keep the peace and encourage trade

Henry VIII (1509–47) was nearly eighteen when he came to the throne His youth had been spent in surroundings which were novel and remarkable in the history of the education of princes His greatest predecessors Henry II Edward I Edward III Henry V like his own father had been fighting men and leaders of armies while they were still mere boys The last of the Henrys was a boy in an era of peace and although there was nothing effeminate about his training—he was skilled in riding wrestling fencing and other manly pursuits—his education included both letters and music He was born in 1491 when the great intellectual movement known as the Renaissance or Rebirth of Learning was beginning to exercise a profound influence upon English thought A new zeal for classical scholarship spread from the Continent Greek began to be taught in the universities and the study of Greek and Latin authors replaced the older subjects of instruction It was a time of great changes The invention of paper and of printing—Caxton had set up the first London printing press in 1476—altered the equipment of readers

and writers while new objects of study and investigation were absorbing their attention Henry was interested in learning and counted learned men among his friends

Henry VII just before his death had accepted the failure of the matrimonial schemes which had occupied so much of his thought in his last years and had left instructions for the marriage of his son to Catharine of Aragon and she became queen consort in June 1509 The failure of the late king s schemes had been largely due to the formation of a great European alliance known as the League of Cambrai We have seen that Charles VIII of France was anxious to conclude the Treaty of Etaples because he was eager to begin a campaign in Italy He had invaded Italy in 1494 and his victories and those of his successor Louis XII had led to the hostility between France and Spain which caused Henry VII to doubt the utility of his alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon The whole situation was changed by the League of Cambrai, in which Ferdinand united with his grandson and enemy the Emperor Maximilian with the Pope and with Louis XII to destroy the power of the great commercial republic of Venice When Henry VIII came to the throne he was tempted to deal a blow at France in the interests of Venice but he refrained from taking action and very soon the whole European situation changed again Louis XII was so successful in Italy that his allies became jealous of him and in 1511 the Pope included Venice and Aragon in a Holy League which was directed against France and aimed at the expulsion of the French from the Italian territory which they had seized

There was no good reason why England should intervene in the continental warfare but Henry was young and adventurous and he was much influenced by an ambitious adviser Thomas Wolsey who had distinguished himself in the service of Henry VII It was easy to find excuses for a fight and a Parliament

gave Henry money which he expended in an unsuccessful attack upon Guienne in 1512 The failure of his first effort necessitated further campaigns to restore the prestige of the young sovereign both at home and abroad A fresh change occurred in the European position for Venice deserted the Holy League and joined France but Pope Leo X, the Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Aragon were ready to make an alliance with Henry and to use him for their own purposes In 1513 Henry personally conducted an invasion of Flanders in the interests of Maximilian won a cavalry action known as the Battle of the Spurs and captured the towns of Thérouanne and Tournai

While Henry was in France the Scots invaded England in the interests of France The necessity for a Franco Scottish alliance had come to an end in the reign of Henry VI when the English were driven out of the occupied districts in both Scotland and France and at the beginning of his reign James IV of Scotland had shown a tendency to break away from the tradition by which the Scots for nearly two centuries had followed the foreign policy of France His marriage with the daughter of Henry VII had it was hoped inaugurated a new era in the relations between England and Scotland and though James had made it clear that he intended to adopt a line of his own he had been on friendly terms with his father in law More than fifteen years of peace had brought prosperity to Scotland and James was richer than any of his predecessors had been He had used his wealth to build a great Scottish navy and for the only time in the history of the two countries Scotland could meet England at sea on equal terms Though there was no quarrel between their respective sovereigns English sailors and Scottish sailors not infrequently fought when they met and there were occasional Border raids for the inhabitants of both sides of the Borders being accustomed to intermittent warfare did not readily accommodate themselves to a permanent peace James IV had a personal grievance

against his brother in law for Henry VIII retained jewels which had been bequeathed to his sister Queen Margaret, by their father

These disputes might easily have been settled but when it came to the point James was not prepared to abandon the French alliance Scotland was at the parting of the ways She had to decide between England and France There were many of James s advisers who urged him to keep the peace with England but James himself was influenced by the old argument that whether England crushed France or not she would next turn upon Scotland and that if the Scots deserted the French in their extremity they could expect no further help from their old ally France was not really in extremity but James believed that she was and he led a great army to defeat at Flodden on 9th September 1513 He himself was killed in the battle and his country condemned to the turmoil of a long minority lost her newly achieved prosperity

The extent of James s error was revealed within a few months of his death The league against France broke up and a year after the Battle of Flodden Henry VIII married his younger sister Mary to Louis XII and the two kings were in alliance Mary was Queen of France for only a few months Louis XII died in January 1515 and his young widow secretly married Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk an offence which her brother found it difficult to pardon until the bridegroom paid handsomely for the royal mercy With Francis I the successor of Louis XII Henry remained on nominally friendly terms though they secretly intrigued against each other Then Wolsey who had become Archbishop of York and a cardinal conceived the idea of bringing about a pacification of Europe His foreign policy had been very costly and one ally of England after another had deserted and cheated her For the large expenditure of men and money since the accession of Henry VIII the king and his minister could show nothing but the town of Tournai the other

Flemish conquest, Thérouanne had been razed to the ground at the request of Maximilian In October 1518 what was called a Treaty of Universal Peace was signed in London and as part of the arrangement between England and France Tournai was ceded to the French for a sum of money

There was no real peace and the death of the Emperor Maximilian in January 1519 gave rise to a new quarrel between France and Spain Maximilian's grandson Charles already the ruler of the Netherlands had succeeded to the thrones of both Castile and Aragon after the death of Ferdinand in 1516 and he aimed at succeeding his grandfather in the Empire Francis I made a strenuous effort to secure the imperial dignity for himself and failed His rival became the Emperor Charles V and the antagonism between the two young monarchs disturbed Europe for many years Henry VIII was on the side of the Emperor but he could not at once break his own treaty of perpetual peace and make war on France He continued to profess friendship for Francis and in June 1520 he had a famous meeting with him on a meadow near the castle of Guines in Picardy the splendour of the occasion gave it the name of the Field of the Cloth of Gold But immediately before and again immediately after this ceremony Henry had a private talk with the Emperor and before long he was helping him in the war which broke out with Francis In all this Henry was guided by Wolsey who expected that the Emperor would secure for him the succession to the Papacy but when the vacancy occurred in 1522 the Emperor made no attempt to support him and Wolsey was not elected

The new French war began in 1522, and there were English invasions of France in that and the following year The campaigns were useful to Charles because they diverted French armies from the regions in which he was fighting but they brought neither profit nor credit to England In the beginning of 1525 the

Emperor s troops captured the French king at the siege of Pavia and Henry thought that he might be able to realize his day dream of conquering France The country impoverished by the wars would not give him support and efforts to raise money were not only futile but productive of dangerous disorders Henry had to change his policy and in August be made a truce with France in return for the promise of a large annual payment There were other than financial reasons for the revolution in English policy The possession of the person of Francis I and the concessions exacted for his release made Charles so powerful that in 1527 Henry converted the truce with France into an alliance The allies were unfortunate for in 1527 Charles V captured Rome and made Pope Clement VII his prisoner and in 1529 France made peace with the Emperor in the Treaty of Cambrai and gave up her territorial claims in Italy England had given no help and by that date Henry VIII was engrossed by new problems and Wolsey s day of power was over

For nearly twenty years Henry VIII and Wolsey had pursued a specious and unfruitful foreign policy They were not more dishonest than Ferdinand of Aragon or Francis I or perhaps even Charles V but their long record of diplomatic insincerities brought them no return for enormous expenditure They were less successful in cheating others than others were in cheating them This is not the full condemnation of their policy Not only did they gain nothing but there was nothing that they could reasonably expect to gain In the course of the struggle France had to yield some territory to one opponent or another—a small province on the Pyrenees to Ferdinand or Italian claims to Charles But it was not possible that France could be brought so low as to yield one of the great provinces which alone could be of any use to England nor would the other robbers who were governing Europe have allowed Henry VIII to take such advantage of French weakness if it had occurred Henry and

Wolsey regarded England as the make weight in the European scales Francis I or Charles V would have chosen another figure of speech, for they looked upon England rather as a catspaw for drawing other peoples chestnuts out of the fire The policy is sometimes defended as an attempt to create a balance of power in Europe But a balance of power as we understand it is a device for keeping Europe in a condition of stable equilibrium so as to give if possible no excuse for an outbreak of war to Henry and Wolsey it was a device for keeping Europe in a condition of unstable equilibrium so that the English king might throw his influence upon one side or another as might best suit his objects at the time

In order to secure the satisfaction of playing a great part on the European stage and of being flattered and cajoled by the Emperor and the King of France, Henry and Wolsey neglected some domestic problems and by their lavish expenditure created others Wolsey saw a need for a moderate and conservative reform of abuses in the Church but had no leisure to undertake it They both had plans for the extension of English authority in Ireland but they were never able to carry them out They rarely summoned Parliament and they raised money by benevolences and forced loans and there are indications that if the great religious controversy had not intervened a constitutional opposition would have arisen when lack of money next compelled the king to have recourse to Parliament On the other hand England under Wolsey was peaceful and orderly and the poor could confidently expect to receive justice in the royal courts

# CHAPTER XIV

## THE BREACH WITH ROME

THE fall of Wolsey was the result of a new development in the policy of Henry VIII His children by Catharine of Aragon had all died except one daughter the Princess Mary and at different times in the reign it was proposed to marry her to the Emperor Charles V and to a French prince If necessities of foreign policy required that Mary should marry a foreigner her foreign husband would be the ruler of England a contingency which neither Henry nor his subjects could regard with satisfaction The king had no brother his nearest heir was his sister Margaret Queen Dowager of Scotland and the relations between England and Scotland were far from cordial King and people alike desired a male heir to the throne and no male heir could now be expected from the queen Henry began to say and he may have honestly believed that the death of five of his children was a punishment upon a marriage with his brother s widow His suspicions of the invalidity of his marriage were created or increased when he fell in love with one of Catharine s ladies-in-waiting Anne Boleyn a niece of the Duke of Norfolk

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# CHAPTER XIV

## THE BREACH WITH ROME

THE fall of Wolsey was the result of a new development in the policy of Henry VIII His children by Catharine of Aragon had all died except one daughter the Princess Mary and at different times in the reign it was proposed to marry her to the Emperor Charles V and to a French prince If necessities of foreign policy required that Mary should marry a foreigner her foreign husband would be the ruler of England a contingency which neither Henry nor his subjects could regard with satisfaction The king had no brother his nearest heir was his sister Margaret Queen Dowager of Scotland and the relations between England and Scotland were far from cordial King and people alike desired a male heir to the throne, and no male heir could now be expected from the queen Henry began to say and he may have honestly believed that the death of five of his children was a punishment upon a marriage with his brother s widow His suspicions of the invalidity of his marriage were created or increased when he fell in love with one of Catharine s ladies in waiting Anne Boleyn a niece of the Duke of Norfolk

Henry had no doubt that the Pope would find that his marriage had been null from the beginning owing to some flaw in the original dispensation granted by the See of Rome Questions had been raised at the time about its validity and he himself as a boy had protested

against it (*cf* p 193) He was sure that the Pope would be anxious to oblige a king who had always been a loyal and orthodox son of the Church In 1520 Henry had written a treatise in defence of the seven sacraments recognized by the Church when the sacramental character of four of them was denied by the German reformer Martin Luther and Pope Leo X had conferred upon him a title which has ever since been borne by the kings of England—*Fidei Defensor* Defender of the Faith In more recent years he had been allied with Pope Clement VII against the Emperor and Clement VII still held the papal chair When Henry first raised the question in 1527 Clement VII was the prisoner of Charles V and Charles V was the nephew of Queen Catharine but the Pope soon made his escape and Henry believed that he was not likely to prove friendly to the man who had sacked Rome

Henry expected that the Pope would at once accept his argument that important facts had been concealed from Pope Julius II when Henry VII applied for a dispensation for Catharine's second marriage and that the papal bull which had been granted was therefore invalid But many difficult legal questions were raised and as time went on Clement VII became friendly with the Emperor An Italian cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio who had recently been made Bishop of Salisbury was sent to England and in 1529 he and Wolsey as legates of the Pope held a court to adjudicate upon the king's claim but no decision was given and it was announced that the case would be tried in Rome Henry was furious and he raised a new question Whether the bull of Julius II was given under false pretences or not had the Pope any right to issue it at all? The prohibition against marriage with a brother's widow was he argued part of the law of God and though the Pope could dispense with regulations which were prescribed merely by the law of the Church he could not alter in any respect the law of God On the suggestion of a Cambridge priest Thomas Cranmer who was soon to

become famous Henry invited the learned men of the universities of Europe to express an opinion upon this question, which involved a serious attack upon the prestige and authority of the Papacy

The failure of Wolsey and Campeggio to give a decision proved to be the ruin of the former Long ago, in 1518 with the king's knowledge and consent Wolsey had been appointed a papal legate in England Henry asserted that in accepting this dignity Wolsey had been guilty of a breach of the Statute of Præmunire (*cf* p 153) which had been passed by Edward III and reaffirmed in the reign of Richard II Wolsey did not dare to defend himself He surrendered his great property asked for mercy and was sent to his diocese of York Some months later tales about him were brought to Henry and he ordered him to be arrested and placed in the Tower Fortunately for himself Wolsey died at Leicester on his way to London in November 1530

While the universities were discussing Henry's problem he was beginning the process of destroying papal authority in England The clergy were unpopular and the king knew that public opinion would support him in trying to restrict their privileges and their powers of taxation More than one Parliament in recent times had objected to benefit of clergy, the right of a clerk accused of a serious crime to be tried in a Church court which could not sentence him to the penalty prescribed by the law of the land There were numerous complaints about the mortuary dues sums paid to the clergy by the relatives of a parishioner who had died and about the fees charged for marriages There were many parishes in which the rector never resided but paid a curate to do his work while he drew the revenues, some of the clergy regular and secular alike engaged in farming and trading A Parliament would willingly join in suppressing the enormities of the clergy, and an attack upon clerical privileges might frighten the Pope into granting what Henry wished

The Reformation Parliament met in November

1529 and it welcomed the royal proposals to restrict mortuary dues to condemn non residence and pluralities —that is the enjoyment of many benefices by a single individual—and to forbid farming and trading by the clergy These measures involved a limitation of the power of the Pope for it was provided that no papal permission could exempt a clerk from the necessity of obeying the law and it was made an offence to ask for such a permission The clergy complained and Henry by a clever and unscrupulous device dealt them a severe blow He asserted that by recognizing Wolsey as legate the whole clergy of England had shared in Wolsey s guilt Like Wolsey they dared not resist and with a large sum of money they bought the royal pardon in 1531 Henry was not satisfied and he used the opportunity to convey a further threat to the Pope by forcing the reluctant clergy to acknowledge him as their only protector and lord and as far as the law of Christ allows even Supreme Head of the Church in England When Henry wrested this admission from the clergy limited as it was for the time by a qualifying clause about the law of Christ he made up his mind to sever England from the Papacy He had received from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and from some foreign universities confirmations of his view that the Pope had no power to permit a man to marry his brother's widow and he was determined to marry Anne Boleyn

The weapon with which Henry proposed to fight the Pope was the English Parliament Before 1529 Henry had called a Parliament only four times in the course of his reign and each of his four Parliaments was dissolved after sitting for a single session The Parliament elected in 1529 was kept in being until 1536 and it had a session in each of the seven years The attack upon the English clergy which it had made in 1530 had been continued in 1532 for Henry s extortionate demand for clerical money was sanctioned by an Act passed to pardon the clergy for their breach of the Statute of Præmunire With considerable forethought the House

of Commons added a clause pardoning all laymen who had recognized Wolsey as papal legate In 1532 the attack was aimed more directly at the Pope It was customary for newly-appointed bishops and clergy to pay to Rome the first year's revenue of their benefices A statute forbidding these payments known as First Fruits or Annates was passed but it did not at once become law for Henry was empowered by Parliament to decide before the beginning of the next session whether it was to become part of the law of England or not

Before the beginning of the next parliamentary session Henry had defied the papal authority by marrying Anne Boleyn The marriage was kept secret for a special reason The Archbishop of Canterbury died in August 1532 and Henry wished the succession to pass to Thomas Cranmer whom he knew to hold his own views about the marriage question and about the royal supremacy over the Church It was most desirable that Cranmer should receive the papal sanction for his appointment so that nobody should be able to question his archiepiscopal authority Pope Clement VII was willing to oblige Henry as far as possible the menace of the Act of Annates not yet law may have influenced him and he may also have thought it wise to make sure that the new archbishop should acknowledge his authority and on admission to office should take the vow of obedience to the Holy See Cranmer did take this oath but he did not scruple to make a private protest that he did not intend to be bound by it

The papal authority for Cranmer's consecration reached England in March 1533 Immediately afterwards Parliament passed an Act forbidding appeals in matrimonial and other causes to be taken to Rome they were to be decided in future in the archiepiscopal court of Canterbury or of York In April the new Archbishop of Canterbury having been duly consecrated to his see heard the cause of Henry against Catharine and decided it in the king's favour Henry had never been married to Catharine and that lady was only the

widow of Arthur Prince of Wales Soon it was announced that a few months earlier, the bachelor king had married Anne Boleyn and in June Cranmer crowned her as queen-consort In September Henry's hopes of a male heir were disappointed by the birth of a daughter afterwards to become Queen Elizabeth

Parliament was again employed to make the breach with Rome complete Already in 1532 the clergy meeting in Convocation had admitted that any new ecclesiastical canons or regulations required the royal consent In 1533 Parliament enforced this condition in an Act for the Submission of the Clergy and forbade appeals to Rome in any causes whatsoever The Act of Annates which Henry had already brought into force was confirmed and payments of any description to the Bishop of Rome were prohibited In 1534 Parliament declared the king to be the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England and payments of first fruits which had been made to Rome were transferred to the Crown In its last session in 1535–36 this famous Parliament under the influence of Thomas Cromwell who succeeded Wolsey as Henry's chief minister dissolved the smaller monasteries or religious houses and gave their forfeited property to the Crown

Henry was able to bring about these revolutionary changes partly through the increase in the power of the Crown and partly through the unpopularity of the clergy He was also helped by a growing movement of thought of which he personally disapproved In spite of continuous persecution Lollardy had never died out in England and had been specially prevalent in London Heresy in England had received a great impetus from the Reformation in Germany which began in 1517 when Martin Luther nailed to the door of a church in Wittenberg the theses or propositions which were to arouse the greatest of religious controversies His teachings and writings influenced opinion in England and the small but increasing body of English Protestants were bound to support the king against the Pope Except on the

one important question of the Roman obedience Henry remained rigidly orthodox He hated heresy and he burned heretics but his breach with Rome was none the less the one chance for English Protestantism Henry persecuted Protestants but the next king might protect them the Pope would always persecute them The breach with Rome was the gateway to English Protestantism though years had to elapse before the Protestants entered into their heritage

During the rest of his reign Henry persecuted Protestant heretics and orthodox churchmen alike Sir Thomas More a great scholar and writer whose *Utopia* a description of an ideal commonwealth is one of the great books written in Henry's reign had succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor but had resigned his office in 1532 because he could not conscientiously carry out the new religious policy More was put to death in 1535 He was willing to recognize Anne as the king's wife and to accept the succession of her children to the throne but he would not say that the marriage with Catharine was invalid nor would he swear to uphold the royal Headship of the Church With More suffered John Fisher Bishop of Rochester whose treason lay in his declaration that

> the King our sovereign Lord is not supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England

Fisher and More were known and respected far beyond their own country and their executions sent a thrill of horror through Europe but they were not the first nor by any means the last of the Roman Catholic martyrs of the reign Henry's orgy of blood began in 1534 with the execution of the Nun of Kent Elizabeth Barton an hysterical woman who denounced the king's second marriage and prophesied his death and of some priests who had used her prophecies to stir up opposition to the religious changes Other clergy including the Prior of the Charterhouse in London suffered the cruel death of traitors in the same year in which the heads of More and Fisher fell on the block

The Reformation Parliament was dissolved in April

1536 and a month later Anne Boleyn was executed on a charge of treason Henry was a fickle lover, he had grown tired of her and she had not brought him a son. Anne had never been popular for public sympathy had been with Queen Catharine but Henry s callous determination to take her life shocked even those who hated her Catharine had died in the beginning of the same year and even in the eyes of the strictest churchmen Henry was free to make a valid marriage The day after Anne s execution he married Jane Seymour a daughter of a Wiltshire knight and a former attendant of Queen Catharine The long desired son Edward was born in October 1537 but Queen Jane died some days after his birth and Henry was again a widower The choice of his fourth bride brought about the fall of the minister who had advised him since the dismissal of Wolsey

Thomas Cromwell had guided the work of the Reformation Parliament and had been responsible for the deaths of More and Fisher and of humbler Roman Catholics In 1536 under Cromwell s administration the Protestant opinions of Archbishop Cranmer were allowed to modify Henry s rigid orthodoxy to some extent in the Ten Articles which defined the doctrine of the Church of England and the use of the Bible in the English tongue was permitted The changes thus produced and the dissolution of the smaller monasteries were followed by a rising in Lincolnshire which was sternly suppressed and by a more dangerous rebellion in Yorkshire known as the Pilgrimage of Grace in the autumn of 1536 and the following winter The leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace was Robert Aske a Yorkshire gentleman its aim was to deliver the king from the evil advice of Thomas Cromwell and to save the monasteries and suppress heresy The rebels insisted that they were loyal to King Henry and instead of fighting they agreed with the Duke of Norfolk the leader of the royal forces that they should send their demands to the king and quietly await his reply Before the reply was dis-

cussed Aske who was at the head of a large force received a promise of a free pardon for the rebels and an undertaking that a Parliament would deal with their complaints and the rebel force dispersed But the wilder spirits dissatisfied with the arrangement were guilty of acts of war and though Aske took a leading part in suppressing his own followers Henry availed himself of the opportunity of recalling the promises which Norfolk had made on his behalf Aske and the other leaders and large numbers of the rank and file were put to death Yorkshire monasteries whose abbots had been implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace were at once dissolved and Henry created a Council of the North to administer the counties of York Durham Northumberland Cumberland and Westmorland

In other regions than the north of England the dissolution of the monasteries went on Cromwell appointed commissioners to inquire into their condition and abbots and monks were persuaded to surrender monastic properties to the king and were rewarded with pensions for their lives The process was completed by an Act of Parliament in 1539 which approved of the dissolutions and gave the property to the Crown Unhappy monks were forced to yield the abbots of Reading Glastonbury and Colchester who refused to give up the property which they held in trust were put to death as traitors The spoils of the religious houses were distributed by gift or sale among various classes of the population and owners of monastic land were bound by their own interests to support the royal policy A small proportion was used to endow the new bishoprics of Oxford Peterborough Gloucester Chester and Bristol The process of destruction was at first accompanied by a development of the slight tendency towards Protestantism which can be traced in the Ten Articles of 1536 and in 1538 Cromwell ordered an English Bible to be placed in every parish church But Henry remained orthodox and in 1539 the Statute of Six Articles prescribed the severest penalties for heresy and forbade

the marriage of priests in spite of the fact that Archbishop Cranmer was himself a married man The Parliament of 1539 was enthusiastic in its support of the king and it passed an Act which gave under certain conditions the force of law to proclamations issued by the king on his own authority This Act of Proclamations was useful to Henry in suppressing heresy but it did not make any real addition to the power of the Crown Both Henry VII and Henry VIII had acted as if their proclamations were as effective as Acts of Parliament and the king had now not only admitted that the authority of Parliament was needed to make them effective but had also accepted grave limitations to their use The statute forbade the Crown to alter by proclamation the laws of the land

The reversion to extreme orthodoxy in the Statute of Six Articles indicated a decrease in Cromwell's influence over Henry and his fall came about through an attempt to ally the orthodox king of England with the Lutheran princes of Germany Cromwell negotiated a marriage between Henry and Anne the sister of the Protestant Duke of Cleves and the marriage took place early in 1540 But Henry disliked his bride and though he created Cromwell Earl of Essex he had made up his mind to be rid of him Less than two months after the conferment of the earldom Cromwell was accused of treason and he was executed in July 1540 He had been a useful servant to the king but his work was completed when the last English monastery—Waltham Abbey—was dissolved in the spring of 1540 He had been a merciless and unscrupulous minister and the years of his rule had been a reign of terror in England But he was no traitor to the king and his death was as gross a judicial murder as many others which he had himself perpetrated While Cromwell's trial was in progress Henry found a pretext for asserting that his marriage with Anne of Cleves was null and void and his claim was accepted by the Convocations of Canterbury and York. Immediately afterwards in August 1540 he married Catharine

Howard a niece of the Duke of Norfolk in less than two years she was sent to the block for crimes against her husband who bewailed the bad luck of his matrimonial adventures

During the years when Henry was making his great ecclesiastical changes foreign policy was of little importance though the king was anxious to retain his French alliance as a safeguard in view of a possible attack from Charles V who might wish to avenge the wrongs of his aunt Catharine of Aragon The Emperor never took this step and Henry's last war was with France not with the Empire Charles and Francis I after a period of friendship were again at war in 1542 and as usual each wanted help from England Henry at first refused to be drawn into a continental war but seized the opportunity to attack Scotland The King of Scots James V was Henry's nephew and he urged him to adopt the ecclesiastical policy which had proved successful in England to repudiate the Roman obedience and to enrich himself with the spoil of the Scottish monasteries James refused to listen to his uncle's advice and by two successive marriages he allied himself with France There were Border raids and other causes of trouble war broke out and in November 1542 a Scottish army was defeated at Solway Moss James V died a few days later leaving a daughter one week old who was given the name of her French mother Mary Henry at once offered a treaty of marriage between the infant queen and his son Edward a boy of six The Scottish regent the Earl of Arran had Protestant sympathies and he accepted the offer and a treaty of peace and a marriage treaty were duly arranged and ratified by the Scottish Parliament. But Henry immediately undid his own work by trying to impose ignominious conditions which roused the national feeling and the leader of the French party in Scotland Cardinal Beaton forced the regent to reverse his policy The Scottish Parliament found an excuse for repudiating the treaty with England and renewed the alliance with France in

the end of 1543 Henry had already declared war on France which had been supporting Scottish opposition to the treaty He had taken the precaution of allying himself with the Emperor

To Scotland Henry sent Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford a brother of his third wife and in 1544 and again in 1545 Hertford ravaged large districts in Scotland so cruelly that his expeditions derisively known as the English Wooing greatly strengthened the French party in Scotland so that it survived the loss of its leader Cardinal Beaton who was murdered by Scottish Protestants in his episcopal castle of St Andrews in May 1546 To France Henry went in person and his troops captured Boulogne in September 1544 This was the one gain of a costly war The Emperor deserted Henry and made a separate peace and though the French failed in an attempt on Portsmouth and lost command of the Channel in 1545 financial considerations compelled Henry to make a treaty with France in 1546 England was to retain Boulogne for eight years and was then to restore it for a money payment and the French were to resume payment of the pension which Henry VII and Henry VIII had obtained by previous treaties the provisions of which had been allowed to lapse

Henry died eighteen months after the conclusion of this treaty In 1543 he had married his sixth and last wife Catharine Parr She was a widow and her husband had been implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace but she herself was suspected of Protestant sympathies She was not able to save Protestants from persecution —a Lincolnshire lady Anne Askewe was burned to death in the summer of 1546 for denying the Roman doctrine of the sacraments—but the Protestant influence of Archbishop Cranmer became somewhat more powerful as Henry drew near his end His last weeks were disturbed by stories of a plot which roused him to his last acts of merciless repression The young Earl of Surrey the heir of the Duke of Norfolk a soldier and a poet had boasted of the royal blood in his veins had used the royal

arms and had said that if the king died his own father ought to be regent Not only was he found guilty of high treason but a similar charge was brought against his father for failing to reveal his son s misdeeds Nor folk was the victor of Flodden and he had been a faithful servant of Henry but his past services could not save him and he was found guilty and condemned to death Surrey was beheaded on the 19th January 1547 and Norfolk s execution was fixed for the 28th Early that morning Henry VIII died and the old soldier s life was saved The death of his master removed a great and constructive force from English politics It is im possible to admire Henry s character or to defend the craft and cruelty of his policy but his work remained

who served the chantries took an important part in the education of the young Most of the chantry schools were abolished with the chantries and a few new schools founded by Edward VI did comparatively little to replace them Though the Act of 1539 giving royal proclamations the force of law was also repealed proclamations were issued in 1548 ordering the removal of images from churches It was necessary to provide some definite rule for the conduct of public worship Henry VIII had sanctioned the use of an English Litany, and in 1549 the first Act of Uniformity prescribed the use of an English Book of Common Prayer destined to be known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI It was the work of Archbishop Cranmer though he had to modify his more extreme Protestant views in deference to general clerical opinion The beauty and dignity of its language was ultimately to endear Cranmer s liturgy to the people of England but at first it was disliked and condemned as a novelty

Somerset ruled England for three years during which the country was restless and unsettled Henry VIII had left a Scottish war on his hands and he spent the summer of 1547 in a campaign in Scotland In September he won at Pinkie near Edinburgh the last of the long series of battles between England and Scotland before the civil war of the seventeenth century and he seized many Scottish strongholds but he failed in his great object—to persuade the Scots to renew the treaty of marriage between Queen Mary and King Edward. The victory of Pinkie hindered rather than helped the accomplishment of this object though Somerset unlike Henry VIII did not revive the obsolete pretensions to an English overlordship and offered a union upon honourable terms The Scots renewed their French alliance received French help to expel the English garrisons and in 1548 sent their small queen to France to be educated there and to marry the heir to the French throne.

After his campaign in Scotland Somerset had one comparatively peaceful year—1548—but the events of

1549 proved fatal to his authority In Devonshire and Cornwall there was a rebellion against the new Prayer Book and the rebels demanded the Six Articles the mass in Latin, and the suppression of the English version of the Bible Exeter was besieged but was soon relieved and order was restored A sympathetic rising in Oxfordshire was put down with severity and a number of priests were executed While the religious rebellion was giving trouble in the west a much more dangerous outbreak occurred in the eastern counties the cause of which was not ecclesiastical but economic

The growth of the wool trade had led to an increase in sheep-farming and the landlords who under the strong Tudor rule were ceasing to have large bodies of retainers dependent on them no longer desired to have large numbers of servants and found that sheep-farming was the most profitable use to which they could put their estates For this purpose they converted agricultural land into sheep-walks getting rid of the small holders who had cultivated it and letting large areas to sheep-farmers or themselves trading as farmers A large proportion of the land in England was common or waste land and much of it was enclosed and used for the same purpose There was much more common land than was required as pasturage by the villagers who enjoyed rights over it but the enclosure of commons was none the less an injustice because a peasant was often deprived of access to pasture near his own holding and distant pasturage was of little use to him The process had been going on for a very long time and it was assisted by the scarcity of labourers after the Black Death but it did not become a national grievance until the Tudor reigns The new landowners who had succeeded to monastic estates made large enclosures in order to render their purchases of land more profitable

There were risings against enclosures all over England in 1549 but only one of them proved formidable The peasants of Norfolk led by a prosperous tanner named Robert Kett assembled in large numbers demanded the

abolition of serfdom and the restoration of enclosed commons to their former use and slaughtered sheep wherever they found them Somerset had considerable sympathy with the agitation against enclosures He tried to check the process and one of his clerical supporters Hugh Latimer who had been Bishop of Worcester but had resigned his office because of his opposition to the Six Articles of 1539 preached a famous sermon against enclosures complaining that where there have been many householders and inhabitants there is now but a shepherd and his dog' But whatever the Protector's sympathies he could not tolerate a rebellion Kett and his followers seized the city of Norwich and defeated a small royalist force and Somerset was bound to take measures against them

He sent an army to suppress the rising and gave the command to John Dudley Earl of Warwick Dudley was a son of Edmund Dudley the extortionate financial agent of Henry VII The father had been put to death by Henry VIII on his accession but the son an able soldier found favour in the king's eyes was given important commands in France and Scotland and was made Viscount Lisle He had been a rival of Somerset for the Protectorship and had been consoled with the famous title of Earl of Warwick He had no difficulty in dealing with the rebellion and his success revived or increased his ambition to displace the Protector whose prestige had been seriously affected by an unfortunate incident Somerset's younger brother Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudeley the Lord High Admiral of England who had married Catharine Parr the widow of Henry VIII was jealous of the Protector and in the beginning of 1549 he was proved to have been intriguing against the Government. Warwick insisted that he should be put to death as a traitor and an Act of Attainder was passed by Parliament against him Somerset yielded and Seymour was beheaded Henry VIII had beheaded two of his wives with impunity but the Protector was not a king and public opinion seems to have been

shocked by his responsibility for his brother's death though the admiral was both unscrupulous and self seeking

After the suppression of Kett's rebellion Warwick's own intrigues against Somerset were more successful than Seymour's and the duke was arrested and sent to the Tower in October 1549 He ceased to be Protector but he was released early in the following year Meanwhile Henry II of France was besieging Boulogne and in March 1550 Warwick made peace yielding the town in return for a payment In April Somerset was restored to a place in the Privy Council and he and Warwick conducted the Government The Roman Catholics led by Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and Edmund Bonner who had been deprived of his office as Bishop of London had supported Warwick in the expectation that he would undo the ecclesiastical work of Somerset but Warwick's influence was thrown on the side of the more extreme Protestants. The deprivation of Bonner was confirmed and Gardiner and some other bishops were also deprived and their sees were given to Protestants Efforts were made to prohibit the celebration of mass in the household of the Princess Mary the daughter of Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon but it was deemed wisest to let her have her own way as Somerset had done from the first There were some further disturbances in the country and the Government was divided by the rivalry of Warwick and Somerset In October 1551 the former who had recently been made Duke of Northumberland by the young king accused Somerset of a plot against himself Somerset was arrested a second time tried and condemned to death He had still a considerable following and was very popular and it was expected that a Parliament which was about to meet would intervene on his behalf but Northumberland had him executed on 22nd January 1552 the day before Parliament met Somerset had been a sympathetic statesman who but for other circumstances might have made for a great

English minister but he was outwitted by a clever intriguer and he never had a chance

Northumberland probably anticipating that the reign of the boy king would not be long pursued his extreme ecclesiastical policy The Prayer Book of 1549 was replaced by the much more definitely Protestant Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI enforced by a second Act of Uniformity in 1552 The Government was very poor taxes imposed by Parliament brought small results and the debasement of the coinage by the introduction of a very large proportion of alloy into the silver was causing much hardship This device had been adopted by Henry VIII and its result was to diminish the value of money and raise prices Northumberland also seized ecclesiastical ornaments melted down the gold and silver and sold the jewels and embroidered vestments Church property which had been employed for public purposes he again confiscated and sold to private purchasers While he was thus misgoverning the country he was engaged upon a scheme for prolonging his own period of rule

Edward VI was a delicate boy and unlikely to live many months His nearest heirs were his half sisters Mary and Elizabeth but Henry VIII s marriages both with Catharine of Aragon and with Anne Boleyn had been declared by Parliament to be invalid The next heir was the little Queen of Scots granddaughter of Henry s elder sister Margaret After the death of James IV at Flodden Margaret had married the Earl of Angus and had left a daughter by her second husband Lady Margaret Douglas The child had been brought up in England and had married the Earl of Lennox a Scottish traitor who had fled to the protection of Henry VIII After the Queen of Scots and the Countess of Lennox came the descendants of Henry s younger sister Mary who after being Queen of France (*cf* p 197) had married the Duke of Suffolk Mary left no son and her elder daughter Frances was the wife of Henry Grey Marquis of Dorset who through Northumberland s in-

fluence had just been himself created Duke of Suffolk Henry VIII in his will had desired that the descendants of his younger sister Mary should be preferred to those of his elder sister Margaret as regards the succession to the throne though he had also preferred his own daughters to any of his more remote relatives Northumberland's scheme was to secure the succession for his own family by marrying his son Lord Guildford Dudley to Lady Jane Grey the elder daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk He persuaded the duchess to waive her own claim in favour of her daughter, and he persuaded Edward VI to make a will disinheriting both his Roman Catholic sister Mary and his Protestant sister Elizabeth and to leave the crown to Lady Jane Grey

His plot was so far successful Lady Jane married Guildford Dudley in May 1553 Edward VI died in July and by his will left the crown to Lady Jane He was not quite sixteen and his death was deplored as a national calamity but he seems to have been a precocious and self willed boy who had inherited along with his father's ability his self righteous obstinacy and his callousness He kept a journal and the calm and cold entry of the execution of the Duke of Somerset an uncle with whom he had been brought into close and intimate relations does not suggest that he felt grief at the event or even any sense of the incongruity of the death on the scaffold of his mother's brother The entry runs Jan 22 The Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower hill between eight and nine o'clock in the morning

The success of Northumberland's plot was short lived The unfortunate girl of sixteen who was proclaimed as Queen Jane was unwilling to usurp a right which she knew did not belong to her but her father in law Northumberland, and her father Suffolk compelled her to acquiesce The Princess Mary who was generally regarded as her brother's rightful heir was in Hertfordshire Northumberland was about to seize her person

when she fled to a castle belonging to the Duke of Norfolk An army gathered round her and Northumberland had great difficulty in raising a force to meet her When he left London with his troops the citizens in spite of Protestant sympathies declared for the princess, and Suffolk himself proclaimed her succession as Queen Mary (1553–58) amid great rejoicings Northumberland never met Mary's army in the field He heard at Cambridge that London had repudiated him and he joined in acclaiming Queen Mary Edward had died on 6th July and Mary entered London in triumph on 3rd August Northumberland was a prisoner in the Tower

Mary whose cruelty to heretics was to earn her the title of Bloody Mary began her reign by showing unusual and almost unprecedented mercy to traitors Northumberland who tried to save his life by professing a conversion to Rome was put to death but the lives of Lady Jane her husband and her father were spared The Roman Catholic bishops who had been imprisoned by Edward VI were released and restored, and Cranmer who had supported the usurpation was sent to the Tower on a charge of treason The new queen's early ecclesiastical policy was moderate Somerset had gone further in a Protestant direction than was approved by public opinion, which was still accommodating itself to the Henrician settlement Northumberland had employed an extreme Protestantism as a device for procuring the aggrandizement of his own family by altering the natural succession to the throne and the Protestant cause was discredited by the greed and ambition of its self-chosen champion The country was ready for the restoration of the ecclesiastical system of Henry VIII

That restoration was the work of Mary's first Parliament in 1553 It repealed the ecclesiastical legislation of Edward VI but it would not reconstitute the religious houses or give back the confiscated lands nor would it abolish the Headship of the Church an authority which Mary disliked even while she employed it The

House of Commons though loyal to the queen showed its sympathy with the general feeling of the nation by protesting against her intention to marry Philip II of Spain The English dislike of foreigners had been specially vehement against Spain but Mary persevered in her determination to marry her cousin and hatred of a foreign king produced a rebellion before the marriage took place Sir Thomas Wyatt a soldier of some distinction and Edward Courtenay Earl of Devonshire, were the leaders of the plot Courtenay's father Henry Courtenay was the son of a sister of Henry VII and had been created Marquis of Exeter by his cousin Henry VIII but had afterwards aroused the royal jealousy and suspicion and had been executed in 1538 The son Edward Courtenay had been arrested with his father and had been a prisoner until Mary's accession She not only released him but also restored him to one of his father's attainted dignities the earldom of Devonshire He hoped to marry her and disappointment outweighed gratitude in his ill regulated mind His accession to Wyatt's plot was fatal to its success for he betrayed it to the Government and Wyatt had to make his attempt before he was ready In January 1554 he led an army from Kent to London but Mary threw herself on the loyalty of the Londoners who refused admittance to the rebels Crossing the Thames at Kingston Wyatt succeeded in entering London and was overpowered in the streets His failure was followed not only by his own execution but also by that of Suffolk Lord Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey although none of them had been in any way implicated in Wyatt's attempt The queen had abandoned her policy of mercy and the death of the innocent girl who suffered for sins that were not her own is one of the tragedies of English history Courtenay's life was spared but the Princess Elizabeth whose marriage to him and accession to the throne were believed to have been the object of Wyatt's conspiracy, was for a time imprisoned in the Tower

In July Mary married Philip in Winchester Cathedral and she proceeded to carry out her own ecclesiastical policy the restoration of the Roman obedience Her chief adviser since her accession had been Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester but his moderation offended her and she found a new councillor in a papal legate Reginald Pole a grandson of George Duke of Clarence brother of Edward IV had lived many years at Rome and had been raised to the dignity of a cardinal He had strenuously opposed the divorce of Henry VIII and Henry had taken revenge by beheading his brother and his aged mother the Countess of Salisbury He returned to England in November 1554 and he guided the queen s policy for the rest of the reign

When he arrived he found a Parliament in session It was Mary s third Parliament her second though it met just after the suppression of Wyatt s rebellion had refused to help her to undo the ecclesiastical work accomplished by her father The new Parliament was more compliant It asserted its desire for reconciliation with Rome and Pole absolved the kingdom from the guilt of schism The statute *De heretico comburendo* and other laws against heretics were renewed the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church was restored and appeals to Rome again became legal But the possessors of the monastic lands were left undisturbed

Then in January 1555 began the persecution which has given to Mary her unhappy fame About two hundred and eighty Protestant martyrs suffered at the stake within less than four years Among them were boys and women Some of the sufferers had been engaged in plots against the queen and might have been executed for treason but Mary regarded heresy as a more detestable crime than treason itself Of the four bishops whose names are most generally associated with this terrible time two Hugh Latimer and John Hooper had taken no part in political designs and like their humbler followers were sent to death for their Protestant faith The other two Nicholas Ridley Bishop of London

in Edward's reign and Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury had been implicated in the usurpation of Lady Jane Grey Hooper was burned in his own cathedral city of Gloucester in February 1555 Ridley and Latimer at Oxford in the following October Cranmer's fate was delayed He had received the See of Canterbury from the Pope and though he was tried in England a sentence of deprivation was pronounced at Rome and it was ordered that he should be delivered to the civil power to be burned as an impenitent heretic Then terror of the fiery death began to prey upon his mind and he recanted his Protestantism Mary had no intention of sparing the man who had pronounced her mother's marriage invalid but a recantation of Protestant heresies by the archbishop who had prepared and introduced the English liturgy was very welcome and the Government determined that it should be made in public On the morning of his execution 21st March 1556 Cranmer was brought to St Mary's Church at Oxford to declare to a crowded congregation that he died in the Roman faith But the disappointment of any hope of life or even of a less terrible and painful death braced Cranmer's nerves and he withdrew his recantation professed himself a Protestant and denounced the papal authority The calm courage with which he met his end lived in the memory of English Protestants and was rendered the more impressive by the natural shrinking from pain and torture which had preceded it

The persecution went on while Mary lived It was disapproved by the Pope and by wiser Roman Catholics including the queen's husband and her father in law the Emperor Charles V who realized the effect upon public opinion which a policy so ferocious must produce It was true that there was a general agreement that heretics should be put to death though opinions differed as to who were heretics Some of the sufferers themselves had openly advocated persecution when their own party was in power Under Henry VIII there had been executions for heresy but Henry's crimes were usually

perpetrated under the wide licence of his treason laws while Mary would have no such concealment and insisted that her victims died for their religious opinions There had been religious persecution under Edward VI but the number of Roman Catholic martyrs in that reign was not large If one heretic or a few heretics ought to be burned it followed logically that all heretics ought to be burned But the people of England did not reason logically and they were horrified by Mary's reign of terror If Somerset and Northumberland had gone too far in one direction she had gone still farther in the opposite direction and the severity of her religious policy saved the cause of Protestantism in England

Mary was to find that her Spanish marriage brought her into antagonism with the Pope as well as with her own people It was not in itself a happy marriage because Philip wanted to exercise an authority in England which was not included in the terms of the marriage treaty and Parliament would not listen to proposals to confer on him the crown for life In domestic policy Mary had to recognize the influence of her Parliament but in foreign policy she could not adopt an attitude of opposition to her husband and in 1556 Philip was at war with Pope Paul IV over the Spanish dominions in Italy and Mary's Catholic husband was an excommunicated man The French king Henry II took the side of the Pope England went to war with France and in January 1558 the French recovered Calais which had been an English town since Edward III captured it in 1346 Cardinal Pole though he opposed the French war was punished by the Pope who disliked him personally for Philip's sins He had succeeded Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury and he continued to hold his see but he was deprived of the office of papal legate His post was given to another English bishop and Mary defied the Pope by forbidding her subject to accept the legateship But the religious persecutions continued unabated until on 17th November 1558 Mary died amid the unconcealed rejoicings of the citizens of London in

which over one hundred Protestants had been martyred Cardinal Pole died the same day

There was no hesitation about her successor Elizabeth (1558–1603) who had in 1556 been accused of plotting for her sister's deposition and her own marriage to Courtenay had been again placed under restraint but had been allowed to go to live at Hatfield then a royal house She was at Hatfield when Mary died and before coming to London she appointed as her secretary Sir William Cecil who had filled that post in the reign of Edward VI and had been sufficiently adroit to obtain also some employment under Mary The urgent problem of the new reign was the religious settlement Elizabeth herself had no religious convictions and was ready to adapt her prejudices to her interests Mary's restoration of the Roman obedience had been discredited not only by the persecutions but also by the quarrel with the Papacy in the end of the reign Some form of Protestantism was clearly the safe course but no change was made until after the meeting of Elizabeth's first Parliament in January 1559

Parliament after prolonged discussions passed two statutes which were destined to provide a permanent constitution for the English Church By the Act of Supremacy the jurisdiction of the Pope was repudiated and the queen was declared to be Supreme Governor of the Church in England Elizabeth herself preferred this title to that of Supreme Head By the Act of Uniformity the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552) was with a few alterations established as the liturgy of the Church and fines were appointed for the offence of using any other service book Every resident in a parish was bound to attend service in the parish church under a penalty of a fine of one shilling—equivalent to a much larger sum in modern money—for absence without reasonable excuse The settlement was the work of the queen and her advisers supported by the House of Commons The Lords passed the Act of Uniformity by a narrow majority The clergy were in opposition Before the Acts were

passed the Convocation of Canterbury avowed its adherence to Roman doctrine and the Roman supremacy and after the new measures became law only one of Queen Mary's bishops Antony Kitchin Bishop of Llandaff submitted to them The other bishops were deprived of their sees and Protestants were appointed to fill their places Pole's successor at Canterbury was Matthew Parker, a man of moderate Protestant views On the other hand an overwhelming majority of the parish clergy accepted the new order of things

The Elizabethan settlement was a compromise and one of its most remarkable features was the absence of violent persecution A bishop or priest who refused to use the Book of Common Prayer was deprived but there was no law against his saying mass in private A Roman Catholic layman was liable to be fined for not attending his parish church but could not be punished for being present at a private celebration of the rites in which he believed There was however more political wisdom than religious toleration in this attitude of the Government and as the reign advanced there was plenty of religious persecution directed not only against Roman Catholics but also against the Puritans or extreme Protestants who objected to the episcopal constitution of the Church

# CHAPTER XVI

## ENGLAND AND SPAIN

THE main political interest of the reign of Elizabeth lies in the conflict with Spain At first it seemed as if France and not Spain was to be Elizabeth's enemy The war in which Calais had been lost came to an end with the Treaty of Cateau Cambresis early in 1559 but the accession of Elizabeth had itself produced a new cause of quarrel In the eyes of Catholic Europe Elizabeth was not a legitimate child for she had been born in the lifetime of Catharine of Aragon If she was not legitimate she could not succeed to the throne and the next heir was the girl Queen of Scots who had just married Francis the eldest son of Henry II of France But Henry though he made peace ordered his daughter in law to claim the title of Queen of England Elizabeth though she refused an offer of marriage from Philip II took care to remain on friendly terms with Spain which could never allow a union of France Scotland and England and must come to her help if France should attack her in the interests of Mary Stewart The moderation of her policy towards Roman Catholics in the first two years of her reign may have been connected with a desire to avoid putting difficulties in Philip's way if his political interests should lead him to come to the assistance of a heretic queen

There was no real danger of a French attack even after Mary's husband succeeded to the throne as

Francis II in the summer of 1559 The danger lay rather in an alliance between France which guided Scottish policy and the English Roman Catholics who were strongest in the north That danger was removed by the sudden fall of the ancient Franco Scottish alliance The French had given the Scots valuable assistance in the struggle with Henry VIII and Somerset and had more recently been helping in the expulsion of English garrisons from strongholds seized after Pinkie But the French alliance was for the Scots something very different from what it had been in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Then France was fighting for her national existence and was not in a position to exercise an influence over Scotland which could rouse the jealousy of a people tenacious of their independence and sensitive to anything in the nature of foreign domination In the sixteenth century France was one of the Great Powers of Europe and she was bent on foreign conquests and on the extension of her influence The Scots realized the danger of escaping English bondage only to fall under French rule and the final and permanent breach with France came at the period of closest union For some years a French queen mother Mary of Guise had been regent of Scotland and in 1560 the sovereigns were Francis and Mary King and Queen of France France and Scotland were united under the same crown

The irritation caused by the predominance of French political influence was greatly increased by religious bitterness Protestantism had made a great advance in Scotland during Mary's minority and the Government had been too weak to make any systematic attempt at repression When a Protestant queen ascended the English throne the leaders of the Scottish Protestants known as the Lords of the Congregation, rebelled against the regent and asked for English help So completely were they opposed to Roman Catholic France that in 1559 they invited Elizabeth to take Scotland into her protection while the Queen of Scots

was the wife of the French king English troops were sent to Scotland They gained no military success but the regent was suffering from a mortal illness and after her death in June 1560 a compromise was made by which French and English troops were alike to leave Scotland The death of the regent left no efficient representative of the royal authority and the departure of the French troops meant the fall of the Roman Church In August 1560 a Scottish Parliament not only repudiated papal supremacy and Roman doctrine *prohibiting* under severe penalties the celebration of mass but also established a non episcopal Church of the type desired by the Puritans in England

Francis II died in December of the same year the union of the crowns of France and Scotland came to an end and with it the hostility between France and England Except for some help given by Elizabeth to the Huguenots or French Protestants openly in 1562 and secretly in 1573 her relations with France were uniformly friendly But the danger from the Queen of Scots remained Mary was young and beautiful and as queen regnant in Scotland queen dowager in France heiress presumptive to the English *throne* and in Roman Catholic eyes already *de jure* Queen of England she was a match for any prince in Europe The danger to Elizabeth lay in a second marriage If Mary should marry a prince of the Austro-Spanish House of Hapsburg a conflict between England and Spain might be precipitated and for that conflict Elizabeth was not yet ready

The English queen's problem was rendered much less difficult by the policy of her rival Mary Stewart was only nine years younger than Elizabeth Tudor but she reckoned confidently upon surviving her In 1561 when Mary no longer under the influence of father in law or husband *began to* shape her own policy Elizabeth was in her twenty-eighth year and the Queen of Scots who had herself been a bride when not quite sixteen assumed that a queen who was *still* unmarried at *twenty eight*

would never marry at all The Tudors had not been a long lived family and Elizabeth s health was known to be unsatisfactory From the beginning Mary set her heart upon the succession to Elizabeth s crown She was wise enough to see that this object could best be attained through a policy of friendship with Elizabeth and she found it impossible to conceal from the English queen that what she most desired was to be recognized as 'second person or heir presumptive to the Tudor crown By descent from Henry VII Mary was the natural heir in the event of Elizabeth s dying childless and she could not refrain from pressing her claim in a manner that increased the jealousy between the two young queens Elizabeth did not like to have it taken for granted that she would never marry and she hated to be reminded that the question of a successor to her throne must one day become urgent Years afterwards as an old woman she resented suggestions of this kind from her Parliament and her people and as a young woman she was irritated by her cousin s tactless insistence on her rights or expectations

None the less Mary s frank declaration of her aims cleared the path of English diplomacy Elizabeth removed any danger of Mary s marrying into the Austro-Spanish House by warning her that if she married a foreign prince the English Parliament would pass an Act debarring her from the succession Further she threw out hopes that if Mary should choose a second husband acceptable to the English queen steps might be taken to grant the recognition which the Scottish queen desired Mary who returned to Scotland in 1561 spent some years trying to find a second husband of whom Elizabeth approved The task was impossible for Elizabeth for reasons rather of feminine jealousy than of State did not want Mary to marry at all and if the Scottish queen did marry it would be easy for her cousin to find some objection to the match and so to release herself from any obligation to satisfy Mary s request for recognition as her heir Finally in 1565 Mary married

a youth who was a cousin both of herself and of Elizabeth —Henry Lord Darnley eldest son of the Countess of Lennox a lady who as the daughter of Margaret sister of Henry VIII by her second marriage was the nearest heir to the English throne after Mary herself Both Darnley and his mother had been born and educated in England and the marriage while it consolidated the claims of two possible successors after Elizabeth's death was in no way dangerous to her in her lifetime She had secretly encouraged it but when it took place she declared herself deeply offended

Mary's situation in Scotland was always very difficult and Elizabeth while remaining on professedly friendly terms with her intrigued with and bribed Scottish nobles and encouraged Scottish rebels Until her marriage with Darnley Mary maintained with surprising success her position as the Roman Catholic queen of a country in which Protestantism had been established against the will of the sovereign But Darnley quarrelled with everybody in Scotland and before long with his wife whose confidential private secretary David Rizzio he murdered in her presence The birth of an heir Prince James in June 1566 brought about a temporary reconciliation but in February 1567 Darnley was murdered and Mary soon afterwards married the Earl of Bothwell whom everybody believed to be the murderer of her husband Losing the respect of her people she lost the support which had saved her in previous crises of her reign and in the summer of 1567 she was imprisoned in a castle on an island in Lochleven and was forced to abdicate in favour of her infant son who was proclaimed as James VI The government of the country was entrusted by the terms of the queen's abdication to her ambitious and ungenerous half brother the Earl of Moray

Elizabeth did not like rebellions and she intervened on Mary's behalf believing that her life was in danger from an outcry raised by John Knox the leader of the Scottish Protestants that the queen should be put to

death as an accomplice in Darnley's murder She wrote to Mary personally making an offer of protection and sending a ring as a token of the good faith of a sovereign There was no immediate risk in inviting a prisoner to seek English protection but in May 1568 Mary made a romantic escape The army which responded to her call was defeated at Langside near Glasgow and in her despair she availed herself of Elizabeth's invitation and fled to England instead of to France Elizabeth hesitated about her reception but finally decided to keep her a prisoner and to maintain influence over the Scottish regent by threats of releasing the queen

During the ten years of Elizabeth's reign the English Roman Catholics had raised no rebellion against her rule But Catholicism was still strong in the north of England and the imprisonment of the lady whom the English Roman Catholics believed to be their rightful queen was a challenge to resist the heretical usurper There were local grievances against the Government and there were ambitious northern noblemen who saw an opportunity of their own aggrandizement in a revolution brought about by their means The Earl of Northumberland suggested that Mary should marry the Duke of Norfolk and be recognized as heir to the throne He did not propose to depose Elizabeth but to expel Cecil from her councils and to change her policy Norfolk though a Protestant at first welcomed the scheme but when he realized its dangers he lost heart tried to make his peace with the queen and was sent to the Tower His accomplices led by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland had been guilty of a foreign intrigue they could not expect mercy and they staked everything upon a rebellion in the north Their more moderate followers deserted them the Regent Moray prevented their Scottish sympathizers from giving them help and the Rising of the Northern Earls was easily suppressed in the autumn of 1569

The imprisonment of Mary Stewart influenced also

the relations between Elizabeth and Spain Apart from religious differences there was a subject of dispute which was soon to be pressing for settlement In 1493 Pope Alexander VI had divided the New World between Spain and Portugal the Spaniards were already in possession of large portions of it and they refused to allow any foreign nation to trade with their settlements England was becoming the greatest sea Power and her sailors from the time of Henry VIII were in the habit of attacking the vessels of other countries and of avenging Spanish trade restrictions by what were piratical expeditions Elizabeth openly denounced the English pirates but abstained from active measures against them although their exploits might easily have led to an open rupture with Spain and she even gave them the protection of her navy In 1562–63 Sir John Hawkins kidnapped negroes and sold them in the Spanish colonies and he repeated his exploits in 1564–65 and again in 1567–69 These expeditions naturally aroused the wrath of Philip for Hawkins though nominally a peaceful trader compelled the Spaniards to break their own laws bombarded Spanish settlements and even fought an action with Spanish ships The two countries were at peace but Hawkins's vessels were accompanied by ships belonging to the English queen

These and other grievances made Philip II welcome the opportunity of encouraging an English scheme to release the Queen of Scots and place her on the throne The Rising of the Northern Earls had been premature but a few months after its suppression Pope Pius V in February 1570 issued a Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth released her subjects from allegiance to her and invited foreign Powers to depose her Philip did not openly assume the rôle of the executor of the papal mandate but he entered into a plot for the deposition of Elizabeth and the succession of Mary and her marriage to Norfolk who had been released from the Tower Roberto di Ridolfi an Italian banker who had settled in London, was the leading conspirator While

he was abroad in 1571 engaged in negotiations with Philip one of his messengers an attendant of the Scottish queen was arrested at Dover The plot was discovered and the rising and invasion which the conspirators were planning never took place Norfolk was put to death in June 1572 and Parliament urged Elizabeth to execute Mary The queen was unwilling to take her cousin's life openly and she was engaged in intrigues for the delivery of Mary to the Scottish Government and her execution immediately on reaching Scottish soil Three Scottish regents in succession were pressed by Elizabeth to undertake this task but each of them feared public opinion in Scotland and made it a condition that the English queen should avow her responsibility There were the same objections to this as to an execution in England and Mary's life was spared

In the Ridolfi plot Spain had given England a grievance to balance the injuries done by Hawkins but there was no war Philip was absorbed in his own difficulties and was not tempted to add a war with England to their number and Elizabeth preferred the profitable adventures of her sailors to open hostilities with Spain She saw however that an Anglo Spanish conflict was inevitable and she engaged in a long series of negotiations for her own marriage with a French prince She had made up her mind never to marry but proposals of marriage were much more useful for her purposes than ordinary negotiations for an alliance Such negotiations could not be carried on for an indefinite time without producing either a treaty of alliance or a breach between the contracting parties Elizabeth did not wish to make a definite treaty with France She wanted France to be ready to enter into an alliance should the French be needed to support her against Spain but she was unwilling to commit herself to acting in concert with France and proposals for her marriage offered an unending series of possible discussions Once indeed in 1572 she did make a defensive treaty with

France The Treaty of Blois deprived Mary Stewart of any hope of assistance from her French kinsfolk and it enabled Elizabeth to deal another blow at Philip by sending in conjunction with France some slight help to the Protestant inhabitants of the Netherlands who were in revolt against him But the Treaty of Blois lasted only for a few months in August 1572 the Massacre of St Bartholomew perpetrated by the French queen mother Catherine de Medici against the Huguenots inflamed English feeling against France to such a degree that Elizabeth abandoned her pretence of negotiating a marriage with Henry of Anjou the brother and heir of Charles IX of France

She lost nothing by the temporary rupture with France Drake a companion of Hawkins was engaged in another attack upon the Spanish colonies and Spanish shipping and after he had returned with his booty Elizabeth deserted the Netherlanders and came to an understanding with Philip Then she turned again to France Her old suitor had succeeded to the throne as Henry III but his younger brother who became Duke of Anjou took his place in her mature affections he was her junior by more than twenty years The farce was prolonged for years and it proved very serviceable to Elizabeth but she could not for ever continue to play off France against Spain In 1581 Philip II succeeded to the throne of Portugal to which he put forward an hereditary claim establishing it by force of arms His naval power was increased by the Portuguese fleet and he had fresh complaints against the English queen In 1578–81 Drake had sailed round the world and had seized Spanish treasure ships and on his return in 1581 Elizabeth had knighted him

Philip retaliated by encouraging fresh plots in favour of Mary In 1584 his ambassador was expelled from England for planning a rebellion with an English Roman Catholic Francis Throckmorton There were other plots and Elizabeth not only sent Drake on another voyage in search of Spanish booty but by the advice of

William Cecil, who in 1571 had become Lord Burghley she determined to give open assistance to the Dutch in the Netherlands The commander of her troops was Robert Dudley a son of Protector Northumberland whom she had made Earl of Leicester and about whose relations with herself scandal had long been busy Leicester was not a successful commander and his expedition is best remembered by the death of Sir Philip Sidney poet and essayist in one of the battles The English intervention could not be ignored by Philip who had overlooked many injuries done to him by England in the past He had begun to think that he would never subdue the Netherlands until he had first conquered England There was no declaration of war but Spain began to fit out an Armada for an attack upon England

While Leicester was making his fruitless attempt in the Netherlands Philip's agents were engaged in the last plot on behalf of the Queen of Scots The conspiracy was as usual easily discovered by the Government and one of the ministers Sir Francis Walsingham secretly encouraged it so as to procure evidence not only against its leader Anthony Babington but also against Queen Mary herself After Babington and his accomplices had been put to death Mary was placed on her trial She protested that she was a sovereign princess upon whom no English court could pronounce any judgment and she reminded her judges that she had come into England at their queen's invitation and showed them the ring which Elizabeth had sent her as the pledge of a good faith that had not been kept She was found guilty of treason and Parliament urged Elizabeth to take her life Elizabeth hesitated to challenge the Royal Houses of Europe by openly putting a queen to death, and she suggested that Mary's gaolers should carry out the sentence without the necessary warrant They refused to do so and Elizabeth still hesitated Mary's son James VI was by this time ruling Scotland in person Elizabeth had been on friendly terms with him

for nearly two years but the execution of his mother might alienate him and it was a moment at which the hostility of Scotland would be unusually and indeed unprecedentedly dangerous Spain was almost ready for its great attempt and if James opened Scottish harbours to the Spanish ships the difficulty of repelling the invasion might be greatly increased But James had set his heart upon the succession to the English throne and Elizabeth discovered that he would maintain his league with England if he was assured that his mother's trial and execution as a traitor would not prejudice his own claims to the crown Mary was beheaded at Fotheringay Castle on 8th February 1587

The Spanish Armada did not come that year for Drake carried the war into the enemy's country and by a raid upon Cadiz in the spring an exploit which came to be known as singeing the King of Spain's beard he dislocated Spanish preparations and the expedition had to be postponed It came in July 1588 when for nine days the Spanish and English fleets fought a series of actions in the English Channel The English had much the best of the fighting and a violent storm completed the wreck of the Great Armada The defeat of the Armada did not end the war with Spain but it saved England from the danger of invasion though years passed before the magnitude of the deliverance was appreciated by a people who had been accustomed to look forward to a long and perilous struggle with the Spaniards

The religious policy of Elizabeth underwent several developments between the settlement which followed her accession and the defeat of the Spanish Armada As early as 1562 when it was certain that Mary Stewart would not marry a Hapsburg prince Elizabeth began a policy of persecution by an Act in accordance with which members of the House of Commons and entrants to the professions of law and teaching might be asked to take an oath acknowledging the royal supremacy over

the Church a persistent refusal rendered the recusant liable to the penalties of treason The challenge of the papal Bull of Excommunication was met in 1571 by statutes which made it a treasonable offence to publish a papal bull in England or to deny the queen s title to the throne Further any convert to the Roman Church or any one who received a convert into the Church was also made liable to be tried and executed as a traitor These laws were rigorously enforced and under them Roman Catholics suffered death but the punishment was technically the punishment of treason not of religious opinions There was still no law against the celebration of mass in England But the great continental religious movement known as the Counter Reformation by which the Papacy recovered the allegiance of large portions of Germany brought to England missionaries belonging to the famous Society of Jesus the establishment of which was the most important factor in the Counter Reformation The alarm created by the arrival of these missionaries led not only to prosecutions for treason against any Jesuit and any one who received a Jesuit in his house but also to an Act of 1581 which forbade saying or hearing mass under a penalty which combined imprisonment with a heavy fine The recurrence of plots against the queen s life led in 1585 to further statutes directed against the Jesuits The execution of the Queen of Scots and the loyalty shown by Elizabeth s Roman Catholic subjects during the attack of the Armada might have been expected to produce some relaxation of the penal laws but in the last years of the reign they were made more severe An Act of 1593 forbade popish recusants convicted of persistent refusal to attend their parish churches, to travel more than five miles from their residences About half of the total number of Roman Catholics who in Elizabeth s reign suffered death for their faith were executed after the defeat of the Armada had rendered the queen s position so secure that she could have afforded to be lenient

The last years of the reign also witnessed a development in the persecution of the Puritans. After Elizabeth's accession some of the clergy who held extreme Protestant views began to break the provisions of the Act of Uniformity by omitting ceremonies to which they objected and in 1565 Archbishop Parker issued a book of Advertisements or warnings against infringements of the Act and a few of the recalcitrants were deprived of their benefices. As time went on the Puritans began to denounce an episcopal system of Church government as forbidden by the Word of God and to worship by themselves in conventicles. What they demanded was not toleration which they abhorred but an entire change in the constitution of the Church of England. Their numbers increased and severe measures were taken against them in spite of the fact that they were fanatically loyal to the queen.

The Act of Supremacy of 1559 had given Elizabeth power to exercise her ecclesiastical authority by means of commissioners and commissions had occasionally been appointed to deal with Roman Catholics. In 1583 a permanent Court of High Commission was established for the repression of Puritanism both among the clergy and among the laity. The Puritans held firmly to their conscientious convictions and some of them were put to death for advocating changes in the Church; their arguments (often expressed in very strong language) were regarded by the law as seditious words and rumours against the queen and were treated as infringements of the treason statutes. Finally in 1593 Puritan nonconformists were subjected by law to the same penalties as Roman Catholic nonconformists.

These measures were willingly passed by Elizabeth's Parliaments which rarely opposed the Crown and acquiesced in the queen's frequent use of absolute power. During the long struggle with Spain it was felt that loyal subjects must trust the Government and not inquire too closely into its proceedings; and this feeling survived the defeat of the Armada. The war continued

until after Elizabeth was in her grave and there were times when the alarm of invasion recurred There is little to remember about the fighting In 1595–96 Hawkins and Drake made another expedition against the Spanish colonies but they accomplished little and both died at sea In 1596 the Earl of Essex a young favourite of the queen captured and burned Cadiz but the exploit was merely an incident and it had no definite result beyond dealing another blow to Spanish prestige and power

The expeditions of Hawkins and Drake were important in the war against Spain and they raised high the reputation of English seamen but they could not force the Spaniards to allow English ships to trade with the Spanish colonies and both of these famous captains were bent rather upon privateering than upon colonizing Attempts at the foundation of colonies were made but no English colony was successfully established in any part of the world in the reign of Elizabeth Sir Humphrey Gilbert a great English explorer took possession in 1583 of Newfoundland in the name of Queen Elizabeth but his death at sea in the same year prevented the actual foundation of a colony Sir Walter Raleigh another of the famous explorers of Elizabeth s reign sent in 1585 a small number of Englishmen to found a colony which he named Virginia in honour of the maiden queen but the experiences of the colonists were unhappy and Drake brought the survivors home in the following year and a later attempt in 1597 was not much more successful though when Virginia was actually colonized twenty years later a few (about seven) of Raleigh s colonists were found to have maintained the existence of his settlement

On the other hand Elizabeth s reign saw a considerable extension of English dominion in Ireland Henry VIII though he assumed the title of King of Ireland did not exercise royal authority much beyond the old English Pale'—Dublin Louth Kildare and a portion of Meath but by suppressing the great Fitzgerald

family which rebelled in 1534 he brought the Pale under English control and by a distribution of the Irish monastic lands he laid the foundations for English influence beyond its limits Mary was unable to restore the Irish monasteries but she encouraged the Irish people in their fidelity to the Roman Church and Elizabeth made no serious effort to enforce her Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity except in the Pale In the first years of her reign there was a rebellion in Ulster but its cause was not religious it was part of a struggle between rival claimants to the headship of the O Neills There were other plots and rebellions encouraged by Spain and after the defeat of the Armada the head of the O Neills the Earl of Tyrone intrigued with Spain and organized a rebellion on a large scale in 1598 The English commander was the Earl of Essex who had distinguished himself in the sack of Cadiz in 1596 but he contented himself with making a truce and returning to England His successor Lord Mountjoy subdued Ulster and compelled the submission of Tyrone

The failure of Essex in Ireland led to the last conspiracy of the reign Although he was a royal favourite he was arrested for failing to carry out the queen's instructions and after his release was not restored to favour and relying on his popularity in London he formed a scheme to compel Elizabeth to dismiss her advisers Walsingham had died in 1590 and Burghley in 1598 and the queen's minister was the latter's son Robert Cecil afterwards Earl of Salisbury Cecil obtained knowledge of the conspiracy and Essex was tried and executed in February 1601

The old queen was nearing her end the Spanish danger was over and Elizabeth's last Parliament offered an unusual amount of opposition to the Government On two occasions in 1566 and in 1593 members of the Commons had been punished for defying a royal prohibition to discuss the succession to the crown and Puritans in the House had more than once suffered for attempts to establish a right of freedom of speech in parliamentary

for constitutional law not always apparent in her own executive acts. The attempts of her father and her brother to bequeath the crown by will had failed, and Elizabeth left her people and their law to settle the question.

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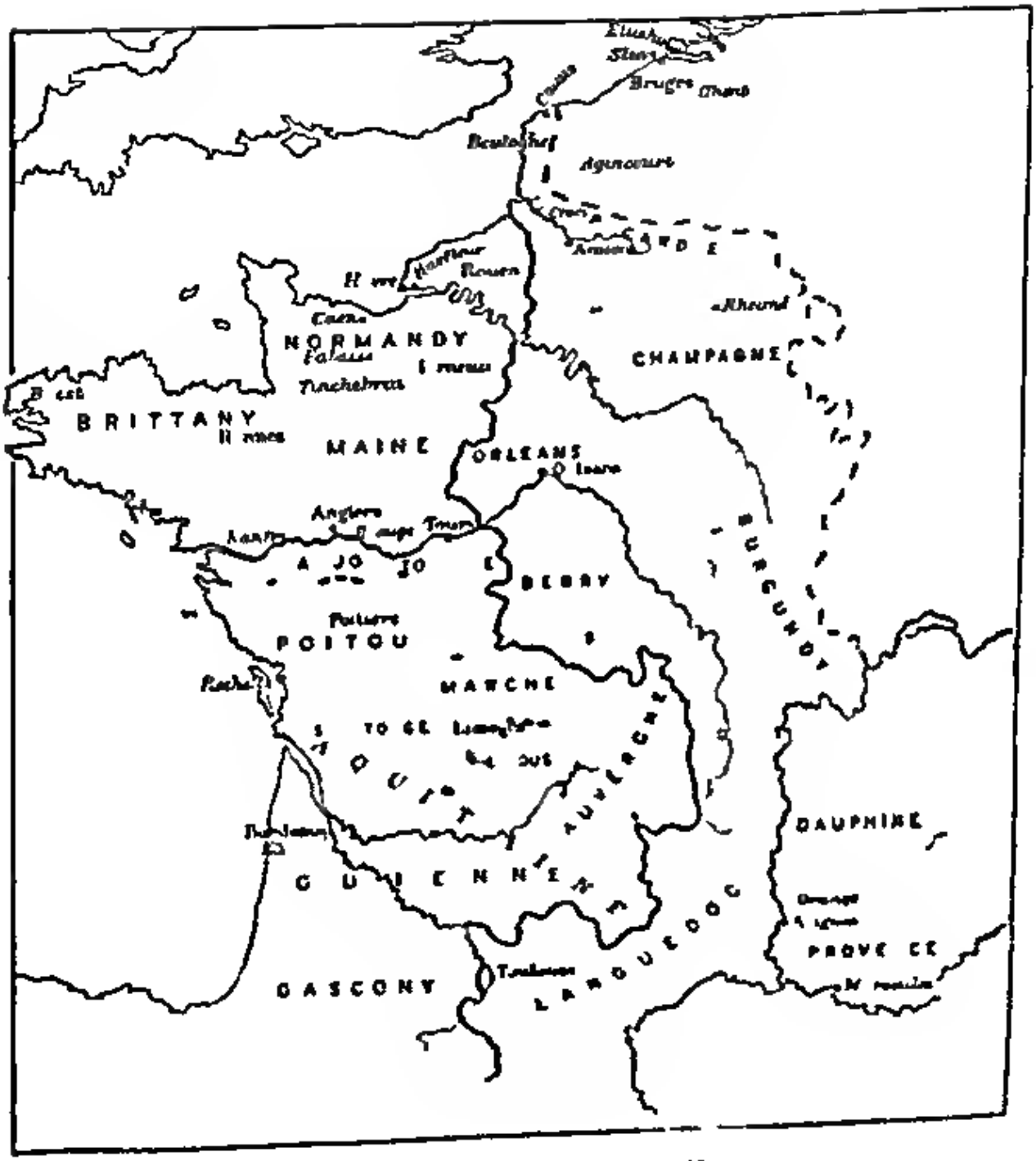


THE EMPIRE OF HENRY II

ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

*The "Teaching of History" Series*

*General Editor*—JOHN BUCHAN

# A GENERAL SURVEY OF BRITISH HISTORY

## Vol. II

No. 9

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# A GENERAL SURVEY
## OF
# BRITISH HISTORY

BY
ROBERT S RAIT, C B E, LL D

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From 1603 to 1924

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# GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

To-day it would appear that we are feeling our way towards a new method of teaching history in schools and colleges The defect of the old system was that history was apt to be taught as a bare scheme of dates and dynasties a thing without any true application When it was taught in greater detail in short periods these periods were not linked up with any general historical scheme and so tended to be episodic and unrelated

A teacher of history must aim at providing the pupil with a conspectus of large scale historical movements and at the same time by a series of linked epochs clothe the bones for him in flesh and blood The past must be presented as a living thing so that the student can realize that its inhabitants had the same varied interests as he has himself and at the same time he must have clearly in his head the sequence by which history has moved from its early beginnings to his own day He must understand that the life of former ages was not merely dynastic and political but economic social literary and artistic He must be enabled imaginatively to live again in earlier epochs and at the same time he must be given a bird's eye view of the processes of time

It is proposed that this series should be divided into three parts (1) the History of Britain (2) the History of Europe, and (3) an Outline of General History In sections 1 and 2 the scheme is for a general outline in two volumes followed by a sequence of epochs grouped around some determining movement or personality The epochs taken together will form a continuous history

of British and European life The aim has been to divide the past into tracts of time which have a real unity and significance for much of the present sub division of history is arbitrary and unscientific The division is roughly chronological but there is no arbi trary length for each epoch One may cover several centuries and another a bare twenty five years

Each epoch will be treated not merely from the political and military standpoints but also from the social economic and cultural Even in the British section the treatment will not be insular Modern educational programmes lay stress on the connection at all points of British history with that of the world outside The old teaching of national history was apt to give a false perspective It is necessary when British history is taught to make it clear that Britain was a province of Christendom and that all our civili zation arose from the known antiquity of two thousand years ago The history of Britain can only be under stood when it is studied in relation to the history of Europe and of the world

The aim in the British group is to give in each volume a picture of how our ancestors lived in a particular epoch what their thoughts were what were the influ ences in their lives and what living and permanent movements and institutions that epoch contributed to the story of Britain In the European group the same purpose will be followed but the epochs will not have the elaboration of the Briti h group It is hoped that the three groups taken together will provide material for an intelligent and balanced understanding of the past

JOHN BUCHAN

VOLUME II

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# A GENERAL SURVEY OF BRITISH HISTORY

## CHAPTER I

### JAMES I AND HIS PROBLEMS

THE history of England in the seventeenth century differs from that of other European countries in one very important respect While in France and in some of the states of Germany the power and authority of the Crown increased throughout the century in England the Crown was much less powerful under William III than it had been under Queen Elizabeth There was no danger from without and the island kingdom was free to develop its internal differences The main features of interest in the period are two struggles—a conflict between king and Parliament for the supreme power in national affairs and a conflict between two different types of Protestants the Church of England and the Puritans who had been increasing in numbers throughout the reign of Elizabeth The two conflicts were closely connected for the Church of England supported royal claims to absolute power and the Puritans advocated the claims of Parliament to limit the royal authority It was not a mere accident that those who loved episcopal government and an ordered service in the Church loved also the personal rule of the sovereign or that those who believed in the authority of Church courts all the members of which

were equal believed also in the government of the State by a parliamentary assembly

The ecclesiastical settlement made in the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth gave to the sovereign the position of Supreme Governor of the Church in England and thus united the interests of Church and Crown Loyal churchmen therefore gave to the Crown an obedience which was part of their religious duty The king was the defender of the faith held by the Church of England Roman Catholics acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope and relied on ecclesiastical decisions as unquestionable and infallible guides to doctrine and conduct The Puritans claimed to possess an equally infallible rule of life and of belief in their own interpretation of the Bible English Churchmen or Anglicans found support for their attitude towards ecclesiastical controversies in a conviction that the monarch whom they acknowledged as Governor of the Church owed his authority in Church and State directly to God himself This was the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings a theory that monarchy was an institution divinely ordained and that the powers of a monarch passed from father to son in accordance with a divine law which no human will—not even the will of a whole nation—could change

The Puritans on the other hand denied that any individual could be the Supreme Governor of the Church on earth All three parties—Roman Catholics Anglicans and Puritans—agreed in acknowledging a divine government of the Church but they differed about the method by which God intended His Church to be governed The Puritans refused to admit the authority of their King or bishops and they found in the New Testament passages which convinced them that the divine plan for the government of Church government was the rule of ecclesiastical assemblies There were differences of opinion among the Puritans themselves as to whether each congregation or the whole church of England should be an ecclesiastical

Church with sole control over its own affairs or whether the supreme authority rested with assemblies which represented the congregations of a district or of a whole nation This difference of opinion became of great importance in the course of the struggle but at first the Puritans formed a single party opposed to the Elizabethan settlement of the Church and bent upon destroying the ecclesiastical authority of the Crown They also held that the king owed his position and power to the people that he was responsible to the nation for the use he made of the royal authority, and that it was right and necessary that he should be guided by the advice of Parliament

The accession of James VI King of Scots to the English throne was regarded as a victory for the theory of the Divine Right of Kings James was a foreigner who by the law of England would not have been allowed to inherit an acre of English land his mother had been put to death for treasonable conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth he himself was known by Elizabeth and her ministers to have been engaged in intrigues with Spain and other powers not friendly to England When Elizabeth died on the morning of the 24th March 1603 no legal step had been taken to recognize any one as her successor and the queen herself had deliberately refrained from expressing any opinion on the subject Yet within a few hours of Elizabeth's death, Robert Cecil the great minister of her last years persuaded the Lords of the Privy Council to proclaim James as King of England and there was no opposition to his succession The one claim which James possessed was his being the nearest heir of Henry VII Elizabeth had been the last survivor of the children of Henry VIII and the nearest heir by the rule of primogeniture was the representative of his elder sister Margaret who just a century earlier had married James IV of Scotland Primogeniture the principle by which the throne descended to the nearest heir was an essential part of the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, and James him

self believed his peaceful succession to be a proof that the English people accepted that doctrine

But the English people and the English Parliament were not consulted about the matter There was no way of consulting the people and Elizabeth in her life time had refused to allow her Parliament to discuss the succession What happened was that Cecil who controlled the machinery of government decided that James was the least of a number of possible evils The English people acquiesced in his decision for two reasons They wanted a Protestant sovereign and James had been educated as a Protestant They remembered the troubles which had befallen the nation through the disputes between the Houses of Lancaster and York and they were determined to avoid the danger of a war of succession There were possible English claimants to the throne descendants of Mary Duchess of Suffolk the younger sister of Henry VIII but there was a serious objection to each of them and all of them were closely related to English noble families The succession of any one of them was likely to be opposed by the relatives of the others and the whole nobility would dislike paying due deference to a monarch whom they had been accustomed to treat as one of themselves The Wars of the Roses had been largely the result of jealousies among rival factions of the nobility and there was a general desire that a similar situation should not recur

James was married to a foreign princess Anne of Denmark and he had two sons and a daughter The continuance of a Protestant dynasty seemed to be secured by his accession and he was welcomed as he came from Edinburgh to London in the spring of 1603 James brought with him many theories and many prejudices He was a man of nearly thirty seven and since he was sixteen he had been engaged in a struggle with the Scottish Puritans The Puritans in Scotland belonged to the section of the Puritans known as Presbyterians Unlike a growing section of the English Puritans they

held that each individual congregation was not a separate and self governing body and insisted that the only lawful method of Church government was the rule of assemblies or courts composed of ministers and laymen Each parish or congregation had its own court but the local or parochial court was subject to other courts the highest of which was the National or General Assembly of the Church Every member of a Church court was equal to any other member and the office and authority of a bishop were regarded as forbidden in the Bible These Church courts and especially the General Assembly enjoyed great influence in Scotland and the Presbyterians frequently defied the king and opposed his policy James after a very hard struggle had to a great extent got the better of the Scottish Presbyterians and he came to England determined that the English Puritans should never attain the power exercised by their Scottish brethren

James also brought with him a firm belief in the Divine Right of Kings He believed quite seriously that a king was above any human criticism In no circumstances he said, was it lawful for subjects to oppose a king Even if he was a bad king he was sent by God as a punishment for his people s sins and they must not try to get rid of a curse divinely laid upon them The king he held was not bound by the law of the land A good king would usually obey the laws in order to give a good example to his subjects but he was free to break them when he considered it wise in the interests of the nation The duty of Parliament he thought was to advise the king and supply him with money but it must never attempt to interfere in really important questions of State or to change any law or custom which the king desired to retain No member of Parliament and no lawyer in a court of law had any right to discuss or question the powers belonging to the Crown It is said James presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this '

The English people were not accustomed to think or speak about Crown and Parliament in this way and the Tudors had been much too wise to use such language Henry VIII and Elizabeth had succeeded in getting their Parliaments to do what they wanted but they had always spoken of Parliament with great respect, and Henry VIII had asked and received parliamentary authority to do things that kings before his time had often done without such sanction There was a widespread belief in England that Parliament possessed powers and privileges with which the Crown could not interfere and that the English monarchy was not an absolute but a limited monarchy subject to the control of the law and dependent upon Parliament for a great part of the royal authority Parliament it was argued had deposed Richard II and placed Henry IV on the throne because Richard II had broken the laws and what Parliament had done to one king it could if necessary do to another There were in the past history of England many instances of the exercise by Parliament of great powers many examples of the manner in which Parliament could force a king to do what it wanted him to do There were also many contrary instances in which a king had taken his own way often without consulting Parliament The men who opposed James I quoted only the historical examples which supported the power of Parliament while James and his friends quoted only the examples which illustrated the enjoyment of supreme power by the sovereign The question whether king or Parliament was to rule in England had not really been settled when James succeeded Elizabeth James believed that it had been settled in the reigns of the House of York and the House of Tudor and that he was an absolute sovereign His opponents believed that it had been settled in the reigns of the House of Lancaster and that the king of England possessed only the powers of a limited monarchy

Those who held this latter view believed not only that the English monarchy was a limited monarchy but that

every monarchy ought to be limited and that if any sovereign claimed to be absolute he was trying to usurp powers that could not possibly belong to him They refused to accept the doctrine that royal power was established by divine right and insisted that all monarchies had originated in bargains made between king and people even though the bargains were made so long ago that history could not tell about them This was the theory known as the Social Contract the theory that monarchy and every other form of government really rested upon a contract or bargain made by the governed with the ruler Kings were entrusted with certain powers, and these powers could be changed or recalled if the people chose and a king if he did not keep the bargain which his distant predecessors had made could be deposed by the nation From one point of view the history of England in the seventeenth century is the story of a struggle between believers in the Divine Right of Kings and believers in the Social Contract These wider theories were connected with the question whether England itself was to have a constitutional and limited monarchy or an absolute monarchy

When the struggle began James had one great advantage Whether the new King of England was by law an absolute sovereign or not he had inherited many powers that were very useful to a monarch who wished to be absolute He summoned Parliament to meet when he chose and adjourned or dissolved it as it seemed good to him He appointed the judges who presided over the courts of law and he could dismiss them when he pleased and appoint in their places men who held the king's opinions The Court of Star Chamber instituted in the reign of Henry VII to repress troublesome barons had continued to exist long after its special purpose had been served and it had from the royal point of view the great advantage that no jury was employed in cases which came before it The judges in the Star Chamber could not pronounce sentence of death, but they could give severe penalties and they could inflict torture in

order to extract evidence In the north of England a special court the Council of the North, possessed powers similar to those of the Star Chamber Another court the Court of High Commission through which the king exercised his ecclesiastical authority was bound to carry out his wishes with regard to the Church The Tudors had issued royal proclamations which were enforced in the law courts and James proposed to do the same This amounted to a power of making laws without consulting Parliament and as we shall see there were ways in which the king could tax his subjects without the consent of Parliament It is easy to understand how James came to regard himself as an absolute sovereign

It is also easy to understand that the English people and especially the English Parliament had stood from an old queen things which they were not prepared to stand from a new king who came as a foreigner and by his mode of speech continually reminded them of his foreign origin Those who would understand what manner of man King James I was will find a faithful and entertaining portrait of him in *The Fortunes of Nigel* by Sir Walter Scott who knew his character well He was deeply learned Scott wrote about him without possessing useful knowledge sagacious in many individual cases without having real wisdom fond of his power and desirous to maintain and augment it yet willing to resign the direction of that and of himself to most unworthy favourites He was fond of his dignity while he was perpetually degrading it by undue familiarity He was laborious in trifles and a trifler where serious labour was required devout in his senti ments and yet too often profane in his language just and beneficent by nature he yet gave way to the iniquities and oppression of others

We have said that the main interest of his reign lies in his struggle with Parliament The twenty two years (1603–25) of his rule did not witness many famous events Just after he reached London two obscure conspiracies

known as the Bye Plot and the Main Plot were formed against him They were easily dealt with and their only importance lies in the circumstance that one of the great sailors of Elizabeth s reign Sir Walter Raleigh, was implicated in the Main Plot James believed that Raleigh in the last years of the queen s life had tried to prevent his succession to the throne he had already dismissed him from an official post and was glad of a further opportunity of revenge After an unfair trial Raleigh was found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death The sentence was not carried out but Raleigh was kept a prisoner in the Tower of London where he wrote his *History of the World*

A much more famous conspiracy was discovered two years later James while still in Scotland had tried to obtain the support of the English Roman Catholics by promising that if he became King of England he would abolish or modify the penal laws which had been passed against Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth He tried to keep his promise but he found Protestant feeling in Parliament so strong that he did not dare to provoke a conflict with the Commons and the Elizabethan statutes were enforced James gave instructions that these harsh laws should be administered as leniently as possible but his orders were not always obeyed and Roman Catholics were naturally disappointed to find that their position had not been improved A small body of Roman Catholic conspirators whose wild designs would have been repudiated as both wrong and impracticable by the great majority of their fellow sufferers planned to blow up with gunpowder the Parliament House on 5th November 1605 when king Lords and Commons were to be assembled together for the opening of Parliament What was to happen after the explosion and how the Roman Catholics throughout the country were to succeed in defeating their much more numerous Protestant fellow countrymen was left to chance If the Gunpowder Plot had succeeded the result would almost certainly have been a massacre of the Catholics

It did not succeed One of the conspirators warned a friend who was a member of the House of Lords not to attend the opening of Parliament They shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament the letter ran ' and yet they shall not see who hurts them These mysterious words clearly meant gunpowder and when James saw the letter he at once guessed the real explanation others had guessed it before him but they were courtiers and they let the king make the discovery and James always believed that the detection of the Gunpowder Plot was due to his own genius alone The cellars were searched at midnight on the 4th November and Guy Fawkes an Englishman who had seen service in Spain was found beside some sacks of gunpowder The conspirators were tortured and put to the cruel death prescribed by the law and James considered that the Gunpowder Plot had absolved him from any promises made to his Catholic subjects The penal laws were made more severe and they were more strictly enforced

So far James had entered into no serious dispute with his Parliament Some difficulties had arisen and James in spite of his theories had given way He had pleased the Commons by taking measures against the Roman Catholics and he had also admitted their claim that their House was the proper judge in cases of doubtful elections and that election petitions must not be tried in the law courts They were less pleased by his treatment of the Puritans Only a very few congregations of Puritans had as yet separated from the Church of England the majority were anxious to obtain permission to remain within the Church without conforming to all its rules They knew that they had little to expect from James for he had already denounced them as very pests in the Church and Commonwealth but when he first came to England they presented him with a petition known as the Millenary Petition because it was said to represent one thousand clergymen It asked for changes in the Church which were desired by the Puritans It

made no attack upon the episcopal government of the Church and its demands were moderate But moderate as the petition was in comparison with what the Puritans had asked in Elizabeth's reign it was certain to be opposed by a large section of the clergy and James instead of answering at once summoned a conference to discuss the whole question

The conference met at Hampton Court in January 1604 and it became evident that the Puritans were not merely asking for concessions to themselves but were demanding that the whole of the Church of England should accept their views on the points in dispute The bishops had warned James that the Puritans really wanted still greater changes than those mentioned in the petition and the king's old hatred of Puritanism was awakened Neither the king nor the bishops gave the Puritan leaders a fair chance and when one of them mentioned the word Presbyters James lost his temper A Scottish Presbytery he said agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil The conference came to an end and no concession was made to the Puritans James would not even grant what they asked when they found that their demand for changes in the law of the Church was to be refused—namely a liberty for "weak consciences to omit the ceremonies to which they objected

The repulse of the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference had two momentous results As the Puritan leaders left the room the king looked at them and told his advisers that if the Puritans did not conform to the law he would harry them out of the land or else do worse He did both The foundation of the American colonies was one of the results of the royal policy towards the Puritans In the following winter Puritan clergy who did not conform were driven from the livings which they had hitherto been allowed to enjoy They began to form dissenting or nonconformist congregations but this also was against the law for the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity was still in force and

every resident was bound under a heavy fine to attend the parish church Then in 1608 a body of Puritans took refuge in Holland the most tolerant of European countries and settled at Amsterdam But the Puritans did not want toleration they wanted uniformity—Puritan uniformity Believing that everything to which they objected was forbidden in Scripture and having no doubt about the accuracy of their own interpretation of the Word of God they could be content with no community in which the ceremonies which they scrupled were allowed

In the far West after many unsuccessful efforts an English colony had been established in 1609 under the auspices of a body of traders known as the Virginia Company The Puritans proposed to settle in the company's territories and they discovered that the Government would not interfere with their expedition Returning from Holland they sailed in the *Mayflower* from Southampton in September 1620 and after a stormy voyage landed not in the Virginia Company's territories but near Cape Cod There they founded the first New England colony then named New Plymouth but afterwards known as Massachusetts It was a strict Puritan society but its leaders the Pilgrim Fathers professed loyalty to King James and regarded themselves as his subjects The policy which had driven them from England was maintained by the Government and in course of time it sent more Puritans to found other New England colonies—a series of settlements which came to be included with Plymouth in the colony of Massachusetts and other settlements which developed into the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven the latter of which was afterwards absorbed by the former The Puritan device was adopted by others who suffered from religious persecution and in 1632 the colony of Maryland was founded by Roman Catholic settlers

At home the result of the failure of the conference was to place the Puritans in permanent opposition to the Crown They had been devotedly loyal to Eliza

beth even while she persecuted them but they adopted a different attitude to James If he had used his position as Supreme Governor of the Church to grant them the exemptions from ecclesiastical rules which they desired or even if he had given them toleration outside the Church of England the result would have been to make them dependent upon the Crown for religious liberty But such a policy could scarcely be expected in that age even if James himself had been less anxious to insist upon absolute obedience to his own authority More than one form of ecclesiastical organization within a single state would then have been regarded as an impossibility and James can scarcely be censured for more than tactlessness But the result was that the forces which were gradually forming an opposition to the Crown were increased by the whole body of Puritans Both the Puritans who left the Church and the far larger number who in spite of their Puritan sympathies remained within it were thenceforth ready to join in attempting to restrict the royal power It was as we have seen natural that they should do so but James, by showing consideration for their conscientious scruples, might have attracted some Puritan support to himself The effect of his policy did not become fully apparent for more than thirty years

The one great positive result of the Hampton Court Conference was the preparation of the translation of the Bible which is known as the Authorized Version Among the influences which can be traced to its noble English prose there is one which may be termed political James I from the moment of his accession to the English throne was eager for a union of his two kingdoms He was quite sure that such a union was bound to come and he deserves the credit of statesmanlike foresight But he was unwise in the measures which he adopted to bring about a union and he was unable to obtain from Parliament more than the repeal of old laws which had treated Scotland as a hostile country But it happened that there was no Scottish translation

of the Bible and the Authorized Version became the book most widely and generally read in both England and Scotland it increased the sympathy between English and Scottish Protestants and it modified the Scots tongue so as to render spoken intercourse much easier when Englishman and Scotsman met

## CHAPTER II

### KING AND PARLIAMENT

THE disputes between James I and his Parliaments belong chiefly to the middle of his reign The real question at issue was whether king or Parliament should be the ruler of the country James was a shrewd man and he understood this Once when he received a deputation from the House of Commons he said Bring chairs for the ambassadors An ambassador is the messenger of a sovereign, and James meant that the Commons were claiming the powers of a sovereign powers that he believed to belong to the royal prerogative A prerogative is an exclusive privilege a privilege shared with no one else and James believed that the privileges of the English Crown enabled him to impose taxes to interfere with the administration of the law and to forbid discussions in Parliament One of these powers that of imposing taxation he did share with Parliament for it was one of the functions of Parliament to vote taxes but James insisted that the Crown could levy certain kinds of taxes without the consent of Parliament

The taxes which James claimed to levy by the royal prerogative were taxes on merchandise imported into or exported from, England and they were known as Impositions The question was raised early in the reign and in 1606 the judges in the Court of Exchequer gave a decision that the Crown had the right of levying

impositions One Parliament after another objected to this decision and petitioned the king to withdraw impositions or brought in bills to make them illegal for the future James had the best of the quarrel and though he once or twice offered to give way he never actually withdrew his claim and impositions continued to be levied Another means by which the Crown could obtain money was by selling to individuals or companies the monopoly or sole right of dealing in certain articles Monopolies had been a grievance in the end of the reign of Elizabeth and she had promised to give them up but had not actually done so James began by recalling the monopolies which Elizabeth had granted but as time went on he granted a large number himself For example he gave the sole right of manufacturing glass to a single company receiving in return a sum of money The monopoly made glass expensive because the company could charge what they liked and the money received by the king was really a form of taxation On this point James did give way The House of Commons in 1621 passed a bill against monopolies and while the bill was in the House of Lords the king thought it best to yield and he issued a royal proclamation against monopolies which were afterwards forbidden by statute

The attack on monopolies accidentally revived a long neglected parliamentary power which was destined to prove of great importance in the struggle with the Crown It was known that grants of monopolies had given rise to much bribery and corruption and the Commons in endeavouring to secure the punishment of guilty officials were reminded that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries their House had brought charges against ministers and other servants of the Crown and that these charges had been heard in the House of Lords This method of trial is known as Impeachment the Commons are the accusers and the Lords the judges The first charges were brought against mere officials but it was found that one of the chief ministers of the

Crown was implicated in accusations brought against others This was no less a person than the Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon Viscount St Alhans famous as a philosopher a man of science an essayist and a lawyer In 1621 the Commons impeached Bacon on charges of bribery and the Lords on his own confession found him guilty of neglect and corruption Bacon was not actually a corrupt judge but he had accepted money given with the intention of bribing him He was dismissed from his high office and had to retire into private life The motive of the Commons in taking proceedings against Bacon was not mere hatred of corrupt practices they disliked him as a supporter of the royal prerogative they did not dare to attack him for giving the king what they regarded as bad advice but they were glad to find an excuse for ruining him The time was soon to come when ministers were to be impeached for the policy which they advised the Crown to adopt

The attempt of James to raise money without consent of Parliament while it was successful as far as Impositions were concerned had in the course of the controversy about monopolies placed a dangerous weapon in the hands of the Commons Not less serious was the result of his interference with the course of justice The strength of the Crown lay in the law which gave the king many powers of which the Commons would have liked to deprive him The interpreters of the law were the judges and it was essential in the real interest of the Crown that Parliament and people should always trust what the judges said about the king's powers If they knew that when the king was in the wrong the judges did not fear to tell him that the law was against him they would believe them when they said that the law was upon his side James would therefore have been wise to accept a judicial decision against him knowing that it would inspire confidence on many other occasions when the judges decided for him Above all it was his wisest policy to avoid using his power of dismissing a judge who gave a decision against him

From the beginning of his reign James created suspicion by attempts to influence the judges often by talking to them personally In 1610 an important question about the prerogative came before the judges James claimed to make laws by royal proclamations without reference to the opinion of Parliament The judges the most important of whom was Sir Edward Coke Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas decided that while the king might issue proclamations to advise his people to obey the existing law he could not make new laws If for example it was not legally a crime to do any special thing the king could not by proclamation make that thing a crime against the law an Act of Parliament was needed to make anything a crime The judges added that the Crown had no prerogative except what was allowed by the law of the land This was a decision specially offensive to James who held that his prerogative was independent of the law and could not be limited by it On this occasion James did not take any strong action against Coke but at the first opportunity he made him Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench This was technically to promote him to a higher office but as its emoluments were less the exchange was intended as a punishment for Coke

A few years later James made his great blunder In a law case in 1616 where the royal prerogative was concerned James asked twelve judges whether if the king wished to talk about such cases with them personally they would stop proceedings until they had heard the royal wishes Eleven of them said that they would do so and that they would never allow the royal prerogative to be questioned in their courts Coke replied that he would do what it was fitting for a judge to do and James dismissed him from office From that time the opponents of the king could decline to believe the judges when they said that the law was on the king's side and could insist that the judges were afraid to tell the truth Thus even when the king was really within his legal rights a large body of public opinion

would before long be was acting tyrannically and breaking the law and the time was coming when public opinion was to count for more than ever before

In Scotland James had been accustomed to deal with a very obedient Parliament and he did not understand the independent spirit shown by the English House of Commons The Scottish Parliament discussed nothing except business brought before it by the Government, and James resented the inconvenient curiosity of the English Commons He snubbed his first Parliament by telling them that he was surprised by their sending him a petition about things which he understood better than they could possibly do that their presumption was a proof of their ignorance and that he would give them the kind of answer they deserved In spite of this the Commons to discuss his right to levy [illegible] and the House replied that it [illegible] from discussing any matter [illegible] of a subject of the Crown [illegible] Commons attacked the [illegible] ordered them not to meddle [illegible] He had recently imprisoned [illegible] Sir Edwin Sandys and [illegible] that Sandys had not been [illegible] in the House he also claimed [illegible] punishing any man [illegible] as well during their [illegible] Parliament protested that freedom of speech [illegible] their House were [illegible] of the subjects of England within [illegible] the right of [illegible] sent for the Journal [illegible] this protestation [illegible] tore the page [illegible] Parliament and [illegible] of the opposition [illegible] seemed to have [illegible] his claim that [illegible] fere with debate [illegible]

The opposition which James aroused in Parliament was not solely the result of his interference with the privileges of the Commons or of his efforts to insist upon the royal prerogative Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth had also made great use of the prerogative and Elizabeth had more than once forbidden the Commons to discuss what she did not want them to talk about yet there had been no organized parliamentary opposition to either of these sovereigns The difference between them and James I lay in the circumstance that the English Parliament and the English people felt that Henry VIII and Elizabeth were leading them in the path of national interest and national safety that they were using the prerogative to do what the nation wanted to be done James on the other hand was believed to be following a wrong policy and he was employing the prerogative to do what the nation wished should not be done

This is not to say that James was always wrong and his opponents always right In the very first instance in which his foreign policy created unpopularity for the new sovereign James was wiser than his people In 1604 he brought to an end the long war with Spain which had been in progress since before the Armada There was no longer any real reason why England should be at war with Spain for some of the causes of quarrel had passed away and Spain was ceasing to be the Great Power which was believed to menace the religion and liberties of England But war with Spain had been very profitable for English seamen had brought back much treasure from captured Spanish vessels and the war had gone on so long that there was a feeling that it must always be the interest of England to fight Spain The Treaty of London of 1604 did not include what English merchants cared most about—an acknowledgment of their right to trade with the Spanish colonies in the New World The Spaniards would not admit such a claim but everybody both in Spain and in England knew that English ships would continue to go to the

Spanish possessions and would trade there even if they had to fight Spanish vessels, as they had done in Elizabeth's time while the two countries were still nominally at peace

If James was wise in making peace with Spain in 1604 he was very unwise ten years later when he entered upon a policy of a marriage alliance between the two countries His elder son Henry had died in 1612, and was succeeded as Prince of Wales by his brother Charles James proposed that Charles should marry a daughter of Philip III of Spain and English Protestants were horrified by the prospect of having in the future a Roman Catholic queen who would try to bring up her children in their mother's faith They were even more unwilling to have as their queen a foreign princess from the country which Englishmen had been brought up to hate The King of Spain was equally unwilling to marry his daughter to a heretic prince but James persisted in his project and in order to please the Spaniards he began a more lenient treatment of the English Roman Catholics who had been severely persecuted since the Gunpowder Plot To please the Spaniards he also committed one of the great crimes of his reign In 1616 he released Sir Walter Raleigh who promised to make an expedition to a gold mine in South America and bring back treasure It was certain that Raleigh could not do this without coming into conflict with the Spaniards but James let him go Raleigh did not find the gold mine but he burned a Spanish settlement and on his return in 1618 the King of Spain complained about his conduct James ordered the great sailor to be put to death under the sentence which had been passed upon him thirteen years earlier

In the very year of Raleigh's execution great events in Germany dealt another blow to the king's project of a Spanish alliance In 1613 James had pleased English Protestants by marrying his beautiful daughter Elizabeth to Frederick Elector Palatine one of the Protestant princes of Germany In 1618 the Protes

tants of Bohemia revolted against their Roman Catholic sovereign and offered the crown of Bohemia to Frederick who accepted the offer James did not approve of the action of his son in law but the English people regarded him as a Protestant hero and their sympathy with him increased when within two years he was driven not only out of Bohemia but also out of his own dominions in the Palatinate They wished James to send him active help but though James was sorry for his daughter and her husband the King of Spain was their enemy and he would not offend Spain by sending them any troops He tried to persuade Philip III to use his influence on their behalf but Philip had no intention of doing anything of the kind though he continued to negotiate with James in order to prevent him from helping the Elector

While the foreign policy of James was thus unpopular he gave further offence to the nation by his reliance upon favourites Robert Cecil who had placed him on the throne and upon whom he had conferred the earldom of Salisbury in 1605 died in 1612 He was the last of the statesmen upon whom Elizabeth relied and James chose to fill his place with a handsome youth belonging to a Scottish Border family—Robert Carr whom he created Earl of Somerset He did not give him the dignity of Secretary of State but he employed him as his private secretary and was known to follow his advice Somerset was a favourite of the old bad type familiar in such reigns as that of Edward II He became involved in a murder case and was sentenced to death in 1616 James pardoned him and though he never saw him again the scandal of a most unpleasant story of domestic intrigue increased the growing dissatisfaction with the new monarch He had already become infatuated with a new favourite this time an Englishman George Villiers who took Carr s place in his affections Villiers was made first Earl and then Duke of Buckingham and was also given the great office of Lord High Admiral He became an ardent supporter of the Spanish

marriage and in 1623 he proposed that Charles and he should go to Madrid and bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion James unwillingly consented and Charles and Buckingham travelled in disguise to Madrid where they agreed to give open toleration to the English Roman Catholics James sanctioned this promise but it soon became apparent that Spain would do nothing for the unfortunate Elector Palatine and Philip IV who had succeeded his father in 1621, sent Charles home without his bride

The prince s dignity was offended and on their return he and Buckingham persuaded James to abandon the Spanish policy which had been his main political interest for ten years He insisted that the Palatinate must be restored to his son in law the Elector Frederick if the marriage was to take place and Philip IV received this demand in the spirit in which it was made—as a pretext for breaking off the marriage negotiations The result was a revival of the king s popularity in the last months of his life but there were still serious differences of opinion between James and his Parliament The Commons were eager for war with Spain and James would not take this step but proposed an expedition for the recovery of the Palatinate The popular enthusiasm for the Elector Frederick which had been shown when James neglected his interests proved not to be strong enough to persuade the Commons to vote the necessary men and money they were prepared to make sacrifices for a war with Spain but not for the rescue of the Palatinate An inadequate sum was obtained and James hired the services of a German general Count Mansfield and gave him an untrained army of men who were pressed for the service—that is taken as soldiers without their own consent

An effort was made to persuade France to join in the project The ultimate result of French intervention was negligible but the negotiations included an arrangement that Prince Charles should marry the French princess Henrietta Maria sister of Louis XIII The

next king s bride was after all to be a Roman Catholic and James gave a promise of toleration for the English Roman Catholics Before he died in March 1625 the penal laws which had been enforced after the breach with Spain were again suspended James by the French policy of his last year had created fresh problems for his son His greatest service to England during the twenty two years of his reign was the maintenance of peace The seeds which had been sown by his domestic policy were about to produce their harvest

Charles I (1625–49) was a very different man from his father James was impulsive and undignified while Charles was cold and haughty his personal character commanded respect and having been educated in England from his infancy he never impressed the English people as a foreigner He inherited his father s views upon government and the powers of a monarchy but whereas James had been satisfied with boastful words Charles could not be content unless he tried to carry out in practice the theories which he held Sir Walter Scott says that James was a big and bold asserter of his rights in words yet one who tamely saw them trampled on in deeds and the description may be justified by reference to some of the occasions on which James gave way to his English Parliament This is not a condemnation of James coarse and unpleasant as he was in many ways he was a wiser man than his refined and dignified son In his youth in Scotland he had learned that whatever a king s rights might be in theory there were always limits to their full exercise in actual life He had gone through hard times and had been brought into contact with rough men and he knew what ordinary people think and say The early life of Charles had been easy and pleasant he was in his twenty fifth year when he came to the Crown and he had never known the world outside royal circles Courtiers had always said smooth things to him and when other people said unpleasant things their words had been smoothed down before they reached his ears

James in short knew from his early experience that there are limits to what a nation will stand from its ruler and though he spoke as if he had not learned his lesson his actions show that he had [illegible] Charles learned it too late, and by a [illegible] experience

When he came to the th[illegible] popular because he was in [illegible] Within five years he was [illegible] James had ever been [illegible] was a war with Spain and [illegible] the fleet to return lade[illegible] English fleets had done [illegible] that happened was a [illegible] in 1625 A Spanish tre[illegible] and was not attacked [illegible] only the successes of [illegible] their failures under [illegible] nothing but failures [illegible] the defeat of the tro[illegible] had been sent to h[illegible] and the two follow[illegible] a quarrel with Fra[illegible]

admiral said that he would never lend his fleet against a Protestant city Charles instead of withdrawing the ships told the admiral to organize a mutiny if an attempt was made to use them against the Huguenots he hoped by this device to be able to satisfy both the English people and the French Government In the end the ships were lent but without English seamen and they were actually used against the Huguenots The English people were furious and it was a poor excuse that Charles believed that Richelieu and the Huguenots were about to make peace and that the vessels he lent would not actually be employed

The king had not been sincere either with his own people or with the French and he had offended both Disputes with France led in 1627 to war with Louis XIII who complained that the terms of the marriage agreement relating to the treatment of Roman Catholics in England had not been carried out Charles had thus a chance of regaining popular confidence by a successful intervention on behalf of the Huguenots They were besieged in the seaport of La Rochelle the French navy was very weak it would be a comparatively easy task to relieve them Charles sent an expedition but he placed it under the command of the Duke of Buckingham his chief minister for the first three years of his reign Buckingham as we shall see was hated by the House of Commons and the House refused to vote adequate supplies for the equipment of the fleet The Commons by their refusal made themselves partly responsible in the event of a failure but they knew that the nation would assign the whole blame to their enemy Buckingham

The expedition was a failure Buckingham sailed to La Rochelle in June 1627 and returned in November having achieved nothing and lost many men Charles proposed to send him back again in the following year but he was assassinated at Portsmouth in August 1628 just as he was on the eve of starting A new commander the Earl of Lindsey took his place and was

equally unsuccessful La Rochelle surrendered to the French Government in October Charles had failed alike in the Spanish war in the German war and in the French war In each instance he could plead that Parliament had refused him adequate supplies and Parliament could reply that the refusal was justified by its distrust of his policy and of his advisers Later historians have attempted to apportion the blame between king and Commons The nation at the time blamed Charles and Buckingham

While these disastrous wars were in progress the king had been embroiled in a series of quarrels with both Houses of Parliament and especially with the Commons When his first Parliament declined in 1625 to grant the supplies that were needed Charles dissolved it and ordered a forced loan his richer subjects were to be compelled to lend him money The result was unsatisfactory and Charles then levied without Parliamentary authority the tax known as Tunnage and Poundage which had always been voted to a new king by Parliament Tunnage and Poundage was the name for a customs duty on every tun of imported wine and on every pound s worth of other goods imported into England None the less he had to summon his second Parliament in 1626 The Commons at once declared that it was illegal for the king to exact tunnage and poundage before it was granted by Parliament and they refused to grant it until Charles had promised to remedy their grievances This meant that even when the country was at war and no one could deny that taxation was urgently necessary the Commons declined to grant it until Charles should give up any claim to levy it by the royal prerogative

If this had been the only grievance Charles who was in desperate straits for money might have yielded But the Commons wanted what he would never grant—the dismissal of Buckingham It was agreed they said that the king could do no wrong Somebody must be responsible for the mismanagement of affairs

and that somebody could only be the minister who advised the king Using the method of impeachment for political purposes they drew up charges against Buckingham Charles then dissolved Parliament as a protest both against impeachments on political charges and against the doctrine that no supply could be granted until grievances had been remedied It was easy to dissolve Parliament but less easy to raise money The device of a forced loan was again tried and Charles repeated a serious error of his father The judges refused to say that the king could legally compel men to lend him money and Charles dismissed from office the Chief Justice of the Court of King s Bench Sir Randolph Crew thus destroying general confidence in the impartiality of the judges when they gave a decision in favour of the prerogative

The attitude of the judges was certainly very inconvenient for Charles Refusals to pay the loan became common among those who refused were three famous members of the House of Commons—Sir John Eliot who had led the impeachment of Buckingham John Hampden and Sir Thomas Wentworth afterward Earl of Strafford In order to enforce payment Charles sent soldiers to districts where refusals were frequent and a new grievance was created when these soldiers were compulsorily billeted in private houses After all this turmoil the proceeds of the loan were insufficient for the needs of a country which was at war and efforts to raise money by the sale of royal lands and by pawning the Crown jewels also produced inadequate results Charles had to make up his mind to call Parliament again and before doing so he released over seventy prisoners who had been arrested for refusal to pay the loan

The Parliament which met in January 1628 was to be famous for the Petition of Right That famous document was the prelude to the Great Rebellion though civil war did not begin until after the lapse of fourteen years The Commons were united in the desire to prevent the

king from levying taxes without consent of Parliament and from imprisoning at his pleasure subjects who had not broken the law But they were not unanimous about the way in which this end was to be attained Sir Thomas Wentworth who had refused to pay the loan was nevertheless anxious to secure a settlement which would not be offensive to the king He proposed that the House should proceed by passing a bill to make arbitrary taxation and arbitrary imprisonment illegal for the future without accusing Charles of breaking the existing laws Charles always did something to render more difficult the efforts of his best friends While the House was discussing Wentworth s proposals he declared that he would not hear of any encroachment on his prerogative The Commoos replied by the Petition of Right

The Petition of Right declared that the existing law of the land forbade the sovereign to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament to imprison subjects without bringing them to trial on definite charges to billet soldiers or sailors in private houses and to hold trials under martial law in time of peace Charles had done all these things and the Petition of Right was a censure upon him Wentworth disapproved of the action of the House and soon afterwards weot over to the king s side but he had little support Charles had to give the royal assent to the Petition and it was enrolled among the statutes of the realm The Commons then pro ceeded to renew the attack on Buckingham and Charles prorogued Parliament in June

When it met again in January 1629 Buckingham was dead and there was no great minister to bear the responsibility for the royal policy The king made some attempts at conciliation but the Commons were bent on pursuing their quarrel In the preceding session Sir John Eliot and the other leaders of the opposition had been supported by a large Puritan ele ment in the House and the Puritans were greatly disturbed by the ecclesiastical policy of Charles and his

adviser William Laud who had just been made Bishop of London The Elizabethan settlement of the Church had been a compromise Laud and Charles saw only one side of the compromise and the Puritans saw only the other Laud was making it difficult for Puritans to remain within the Church of England and the Puritans accused him of aiming at a reconciliation with Rome Neither side was prepared to tolerate the other and the Puritans having a majority in the Commons sent up to the king a series of Resolutions upon religion in which they demanded the persecution of their opponents and a censorship of the press to prevent the publication of books which taught the doctrines they disliked They also asked for the dismissal and punishment of Laud and other bishops and clergymen whom they mentioned by name as the advocates of popish opinions and superstitious ceremonies

Charles was no believer in toleration but he was certainly not going to persecute his own party and when he received these Resolutions he ordered the Parliament to adjourn The Commons unwillingly and under threats of violence obeyed his order but before doing so they passed three Resolutions They said that any one who introduced what they regarded as innovations in religion was a capital enemy of this kingdom that any one who advised the king to take tunnage and poundage without the authority of Parliament was also a capital enemy of the kingdom and that any one who paid tunnage and poundage in such circumstances was a betrayer of the liberty of England and an enemy to the same These Resolutions proposed by Sir John Eliot and adopted by the House in spite of the Speaker's refusal to put them to the vote made clear the nature of the conflict between the Commons and the Crown The Commons were determined that the sovereign should not levy taxes without their consent he had already agreed in the Petition of Right that it was illegal to do so but it was doubtful whether tunnage and poundage was technically a tax

and he was continuing to take it They believed that if the king could not obtain money except through Parliament he would be compelled to summon Parliaments frequently and to act on their advice Further they wished to compel Charles to give to the Puritan party control over the Church of England

The third Parliament of Charles I was adjourned on 2nd March 1629 and was soon afterwards dissolved His reply to the challenge of the Commons was an attempt to rule without Parliament

## CHAPTER III

### THE CIVIL WAR AND THE COMMONWEALTH

THE king began a period of eleven years of personal government by revenging himself upon his opponents Nine members of the House of Commons were arrested and charged with having made disloyal speeches in the House Some of them acknowledged that they had been guilty of an offence but three refused to do so—William Strode Benjamin Valentine and Sir John Eliot The two former were kept in prison until the meeting of the Short Parliament in 1640 and Eliot until his death in 1632 So bitter was the king's feeling against Eliot that he refused to allow his son to take his father's body for burial near his own home in Devonshire

During these eleven years Charles did not hesitate to make full use of the powers of the Crown Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 and his party was supreme in the Church It was a period when the formation of public opinion was much influenced by pamphlets The Puritans had wished to suppress all anti Puritan pamphlets Charles preferred to inflict severe punishments upon Puritan pamphleteers Two names became specially famous in this connection In 1628 Alexander Leighton a Puritan physician who had been ordained as a clergyman published a pamphlet called *Sion's Plea against the Prelacy*—that is against bishops The book was abusive and scurrilous and it

urged the Parliament to defy the king and establish a Presbyterian Church In 1630 Leighton was tried in the Star Chamber, and was sentenced to be degraded from his orders as a clergyman to have his ears cut off and his nostrils slit and to pay a heavy fine One ear was actually cut off he was placed in the pillory and whipped and being unable to pay his fine he was kept in prison for ten years

The other name is that of William Prynne a lawyer who in 1632 published a pamphlet against stage plays He also used very strong language and he justified the murder of the Roman Emperor Nero on the ground that he attended the theatre This was taken as an attack upon Charles who also attended the theatre and upon Henrietta Maria who took part in private theatricals The Star Chamber sentenced him to a fine imprisonment for life the loss of his ears and expulsion from the legal profession In his prison Prynne wrote another Puritan pamphlet which was published in 1636 and in 1637 he and two other pamphleteers Henry Burton and John Bastwick were sentenced by the Star Chamber to the pillory the loss of their ears a heavy fine and imprisonment for life The remnants of Prynne's ears were cut off and he was branded on the cheeks with the letters S L —*i.e.* seditious libeller On the first occasion on which Prynne suffered there were no indications of public sympathy but the cruelty of the Government gradually aroused indignation and in 1637 the populace of London acclaimed Prynne and his fellow victims as martyrs and strewed with flowers the approach to the scaffold upon which the barbarous sentence was carried out

While Charles was engaged in repressing Puritanism he was also creating general discontent by taxation In 1626 he had revived an old right of the Crown by demanding from maritime towns money to build ships In 1635 he demanded Ship-money from the counties as well as the towns The country was not at war as it had been in 1626 and there was a general belief that

Charles intended to use the money for other purposes This impression was false but it produced the same effect as if it had been true and the squires in the counties argued that even if money was wanted for the navy they were not bound to pay it Charles consulted the judges They replied that if the country was in danger the whole kingdom county as well as town ought to contribute to its defence and that the king was the sole judge as to whether the country was actually in danger or not But public faith in the impartiality of the judges had almost disappeared and it was argued that if the country was in danger Parliament ought to be summoned and consulted

There were many refusals to pay Ship-money and the case of John Hampden a Buckinghamshire squire was taken as a test By a majority the judges decided that Hampden was bound to pay and the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas Sir John Finch declared that no Act of Parliament could take away the king's prerogative in the defence of his kingdom and that he had an absolute right to command the persons the goods and the money of his subjects for this purpose This decision marks the highest success attained by Charles in the period of his personal rule He was in great straits for money but so long as peace was maintained he could avoid summoning a Parliament His relations with foreign Powers were friendly and there seemed to be no danger of a crisis in which the king would have to ask Parliament to vote supply for an army and a war But in the very year of the Ship-money decision events occurred in Scotland which before long were to render necessary an army and in order to equip an army the summons of a Parliament

King James after his accession to the English throne had found the administration of Scotland so easy that he boasted that his forefathers could not govern by the sword a country which he ruled through a pen and a clerk of his Council He had succeeded first in controlling the General Assembly of the Church which had led

the opposition to him while he was only King of Scots and then in introducing an episcopal system of Church government under which General Assemblies had ceased to meet But he had rarely interfered with the worship or ritual of the Church of Scotland and he had allowed the lower Church courts with which the people were familiar to carry on their usual work Charles determined to make the government and the forms of worship of the Church of Scotland uniform with those of the Church of England to abolish all the Presbyterian Church courts and make the bishops the real rulers of the Church and to insist upon the use of a service book almost identical with the English Book of Common Prayer

This proposal at any period in the preceding fifty years would have roused violent opposition in Scotland and Charles happened to make it at a time when he was embroiled in a whole series of disputes with his Scottish subjects He had imposed very heavy taxation partly in order to establish the new system of Church government and resentment against taxation was specially vehement in the city of Edinburgh which had been forced to bear a large part of the expense of the creation of the Bishopric of Edinburgh instituted in 1633 when Charles visited Scotland for his coronation He had offended the land owning class by compelling them to make a reasonable contribution to the stipends of the parish clergy and he had irritated the nobility by relying upon the advice of the bishops and employing them in high offices of State There were many grievances which the king s ecclesiastical opponents could call to their aid

A Sunday in July 1637 was selected by Charles as the day on which the use of the new Prayer Book was to become compulsory When it was read in St Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh there was a riot and the riot proved to be the beginning of a revolution The Scottish Privy Council realized the danger and suggested delay or compromise but Charles would hear of neither

and he refused to consider large numbers of petitions which reached him from Scotland At first these petitions asked only for the withdrawal of the Prayer Book to which objections were raised because it had been forced by the State upon the Church without the consent of any ecclesiastical assembly and because it was *ignorantly believed* to be intended as the first step towards the restoration of Roman Catholicism But soon the petitioners demanded the abolition of the episcopal government of the Church and they forced Charles to listen to them In the beginning of 1638 large numbers of Scotsmen signed the National Covenant by which they *solemnly* bound *themselves* to resist recent innovations in religion Episcopacy was not definitely mentioned among these innovations but nobody could doubt what was meant

The Covenanters prepared to raise an army to enforce their demands and the Privy Council was unable to stop them Charles then offered to withdraw the service book but it was too late for such a compromise and he had to permit the meeting of a General Assembly in November 1638 It decreed the abolition of episcopal and the restoration of presbyterian government in the Church of Scotland This step made an appeal to arms inevitable and the Covenanters were ready for war They already possessed an army trained by Scottish officers who had served in the Protestant forces which were fighting in Germany and after capturing the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton they sent part of their troops to the Borders under Alexander Leslie a veteran of the German wars Scotland itself was not unanimous and the remainder of the troops were led by the young Earl of Montrose to force the inhabitants of Aberdeen and the north-east to subscribe the National Covenant

Charles with a small body of hastily raised levies went north to meet Leslie's trained soldiers The opposing armies were unequally matched and the first Bishops' War ended in *June 1639 with the Pacification of Berwick*

in accordance with which the questions at issue were to be laid before the Scottish Parliament and another General Assembly of the Church The Assembly maintained its old attitude the usually obedient Parliament followed the lead of the Assembly, and in the autumn it was evident that a second Bishops War was in prospect

Charles was not ready to yield to the demands of the Scottish insurgents but he could not hope to beat them in the field with the forces at his command At this crisis he took the advice of Sir Thomas Wentworth who after the Petition of Right had become a supporter of the king and had been made Lord Strafford and Deputy or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Strafford happened to be in London on business connected with the government of Ireland and he urged the king to summon a Parliament and obtain men and money for a Scottish war The Parliament destined soon to be known as the Short Parliament met on 13th April 1640 Its members at once showed that they sympathized with the Scots and were more ready to discuss English grievances and the king's conduct of affairs during the eleven years of personal government than to give him an army to defeat the Covenanters Charles dissolved his Parliament after it had sat for three weeks and employed the powers of the prerogative to raise an army Meanwhile the Scots emboldened by the knowledge that they had nothing to fear from an English Parliament invaded the northern counties and occupied Newcastle upon Tyne living on contributions extorted from Northumberland and Durham Charles in the Treaty of Ripon had to agree to their remaining at Newcastle until their demands were satisfied and their expenses paid

To pay the expenses of Leslie's force necessitated the summons of another Parliament but Charles believed that the presence of an invading Scottish army in the north of England would rally the House of Commons to the support of the Crown The Parliament which met in November 1640 was to acquire the name of the Long Parliament and to bring about a civil war It soon

showed that it intended to use the presence of the Scottish army as a means of destroying the prerogative of the Crown It began by impeaching Strafford and Laud Strafford was accused of high treason and when the Commons found themselves unable to prove his guilt they adopted a device which had been freely used by Henry VIII and brought in a Bill of Attainder against him A Bill of Attainder is not like an impeachment a judicial proceeding it asserts guilt and prescribes punishment The Bill was passed by both Houses of Parliament and in May 1641 it was presented for the royal assent Charles had promised Strafford that not a hair of his head should be touched but he was terrified by the violence of the opposition and after a brief but terrible period of anguished hesitation the Bill became an Act on 10th May Two days later Strafford's head fell on the scaffold Laud was kept a prisoner for nearly four years and his execution in 1645 was a cruel and unnecessary act of vengeance

While the Commons were avenging themselves upon the man whom they regarded as their greatest enemy they were also engaged in destroying the authority of the Crown Charles had to consent to the Triennial Act (1641) which ensured that not more than three years should elapse without the summoning of a Parliament and to accept measures which abolished the courts of justice upon which the Crown had relied—the Star Chamber the Council of the North and the Court of High Commission Ship money and other means of obtaining money without consent of Parliament were made illegal A renewal of personal government was thus rendered impossible and the more moderate members of the House hoped that the disputes which had separated king and people might now come to an end But the excitement in which the House of Commons had been elected had led to the choice of a large proportion of Presbyterian members—a much larger number than the number of Presbyterians in England would have justified The Presbyterians were not content with constitutional

reforms the abolition of the High Commission and the imprisonment of Laud They demanded the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords and talked of bringing in a Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy in the Church of England

Charles unlike his father, believed Episcopacy to be the divinely instituted form of Church government and he made a wild attempt to save himself from further concessions In August 1641 he went to Scotland and gave way upon every point at issue between himself and the Scots acknowledging the establishment of Presbyterianism as the only lawful form of Church government in the northern kingdom and granting to his Scottish Parliament larger powers than his English Parliament had yet asked These concessions entirely failed in their object which was to gain military support from the Scots in a war with the English Parliament and at the same time they convinced Charles's English opponents that if they were persistent enough they would get everything they wanted While the king was in Scotland a great rebellion broke out in Ireland For many years during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I English—and later Scottish—colonists were encouraged to settle in Ireland The province of Ulster included a large number of these colonies the city of London had taken a large part in the settlement of the county of Derry or Londonderry and there had been a large emigration from Scotland to Ulster While Strafford was governing Ireland the country was peaceful but after his departure and his fall the native Irish attacked the settlers The real history of the rebellion was terrible enough but rumour exaggerated the outrages and it was believed that nearly all the Protestants in Ireland had been massacred The Commons, who had refused to give the king soldiers to fight the Scots at once took steps to raise an army for the Irish war The absence of Charles in Scotland gave them an opportunity of taking this important step without consulting him and this experience of responsibility showed them that

Parliament might successfully exercise powers which had been regarded as capable of being enjoyed by the sovereign alone

When Charles heard of the Irish rebellion he hurried back to London He found the Commons more determined than ever to oppose him They feared that he might use the army which was being raised for service in Ireland as a means of suppressing parliamentary opposition and they brought the quarrel to a head by sending him the Grand Remonstrance (November 1641) In this document they recited all the king's misdeeds and they also demanded that he should employ only ministers who were trusted by Parliament and that he should agree to the exclusion of bishops from the House of Lords The Presbyterians in the House were agitating for the abolition of Episcopacy and a new settlement of religion to be made by a Synod of Divines The Grand Remonstrance and the demands which accompanied it brought about a division in the ranks of the king's opponents The majority of the Commons were trying no longer to restrict the royal power within what was believed to be its legal bounds but to transfer all authority from the Crown to Parliament and were attempting no longer to prevent changes in the Church but to transform the constitution of the Church

The king's position was strengthened by the accession of a number of men the most distinguished of whom were Lord Falkland and Edward Hyde afterwards Earl of Clarendon who had been members of the opposition but disapproved of the extreme demands which the opposition was making There was a chance that the king governing by the advice of such men might produce a more moderate attitude in the House but he was alarmed by a rumour of a proposal to impeach the queen and he himself proceeded to take an extreme step He ordered an impeachment of five members of the House of Commons among them John Hampden and John Pym the latter of whom had taken so prominent a part in defying the Crown as to earn the nickname of

King Pym The Commons denied the king s right to impeach and Charles went to Westminster in person to arrest the men whom he had accused They had already sought the protection of the city of London where the merchants were strongly opposed to the king and where there was a large Presbyterian element The House threatened by an armed force which Charles brought with him sought the same protection and the king, finding the capital unfriendly went to the north of England

From the date of the attempt to arrest the five members in January 1642 a civil war was probably inevitable The majority of the Commons were determined to seize the power of the Crown and to introduce a new system of Church government which everybody knew would be Presbytery Charles was equally resolved not to surrender the royal authority or to change the Elizabethan settlement of the Church He did make one concession for he gave the royal assent to the Bill for excluding the bishops from Parliament but he refused to listen to a demand that he should give the two Houses control over the military forces of the Crown Parliament proposed to obtain this control by passing a Militia Bill which gave to its own supporters the Lord Lieutenancy of every county in England One of the duties of the Lord Lieutenant was the command of the militia the only armed force which existed at the time When Charles refused the royal assent to the Militia Bill Parliament described it as an Ordinance of the two Houses and ordered it to be obeyed While the Parliament was making an army in the south the king was levying forces in the north

The Parliament insisted that it was preparing to fight to maintain the Protestant Religion the King s Authority and His Person in His Royal Dignity the free course of Justice the Laws of the Land the Peace of the Kingdom and the Privileges of Parliament The king would have accepted every one of these phrases as describing the objects for which he too was preparing

to fight The two parties understood these terms in different senses and both believed themselves to be trying to preserve the constitution of the kingdom of England The Parliament was really attempting to deprive Charles of powers which legally belonged to the Crown but all through the great Civil War it professed to aim at nothing more than preventing the king from exceeding these powers and defending the safety of his majesty s person and of the kingdom The king seduced by wicked counsel was making war against the Parliament they said and the Parliament was protecting him by opposing these wicked councillors

The war which began in the summer of 1642 lasted for four years Charles was defeated but it was not the Parliament that defeated him

The king had made a blunder in leaving London and his first military effort was to enter the capital at the head of the army of Royalists or Cavaliers which he had collected This he failed to do both in 1642 and in 1643 though in the latter year he extended his authority in Yorkshire and in the west of England The Parliament alarmed by the success of the Royalists asked help from the Scots The Scottish army which had brought about the summons of the Long Parliament had long ago returned to Scotland but its soldiers were ready to fight again On the other hand the Scots had no quarrel with the king who during his visit in 1641 had assented to all their demands As Presbyterians the dominant party in Scotland led by the Marquis of Argyll sympathized with the English Parliament which was largely composed of Presbyterians and they offered to send an army into England on condition that one system of Church government should be established throughout the whole island They even insisted that this system should be extended to Ireland the native population of which was Roman Catholic

The system which the Scots desired was of course Presbytery though they did not say this in so many words What they did say was that the two Parlia

ments of England and Scotland must combine to destro all the other kinds of Church government in existenc —Popery or Roman Catholicism, Episcopacy an Schism—that is, Independency. Presbytery was th only form of Church government that remained an the Scottish leaders believed it to be the only form whic was in agreement with the Word of God The Englis Parliament in spite of its Presbyterian sympathies di not want to be bound to attempt to establish Presbyter as the only lawful form of Church government in Eng land for they knew what the Scots may not hav understood that the vast majority of the English peopl were bitterly opposed to Presbyterianism But th Scots would give help upon no other condition and bot Parliaments agreed to force the subjects of both king doms to swear to the Solemn League and Covenant whic was to establish covenanted uniformity in religion Every member of the English Parliament and all wh fought in its army were compelled to take this oath

The Scottish army which was sent into England i accordance with the Solemn League and Covenan helped the Parliament to gain in July 1644 a grea victory at Marston Moor in Yorkshire Meanwhi public opinion had been shocked by a device which th king had adopted in order to gain allies He ha made in September 1643 a truce with the Irish rebe in order to obtain the help of the English troops whic had been sent to Ireland The men whom he brough across were of little use to him for many of them toc service with the Parliament and the English horror of th Irish was so great that he alienated sympathy by comin to terms with the rebels who were believed in Englan to be bent upon murdering every Protestant settler i Ireland In the winter after the Parliamentary victor at Marston Moor a conference was held at Uxbridg near London to discuss terms of peace between king an Parliament The attempt was hopeless for Parliamen wanted Charles to take the Solemn League and Covenan and the king was hoping that the Solemn League w

about to be destroyed in the land of its origin There had always been in the north east of Scotland and in the Highlands an episcopal party strongly opposed to the Covenants and this party had obtained a great leader in the young Earl of Montrose who had become a Royalist after the king's visit to Scotland in 1641 Montrose had been made a marquis and the commander of the Royalist army in Scotland and in the autumn of 1644 and the following winter he gained victories which he believed would soon enable him not only to regain Scotland for the king but also to bring help to the Royalist armies in England

While Montrose was winning his victories and the representatives of the two parties were talking at Uxbridge an army was being trained which was to bring the war to an end The general who had won the Battle of Marston Moor was Oliver Cromwell the only Parliamentary leader who was a great soldier He saw that though the Royalists were greatly weakened they were not defeated and that the only way of achieving a complete victory over them was to train an army of regular soldiers an army that could be sent anywhere and ordered to undertake any operations Hitherto the Parliament had depended upon local levies which disliked fighting far from their own counties He obtained permission from the Parliament and money to pay his men and in the winter of 1644–45 he trained and equipped the New Model Army He was determined to get rid of officers who were given important posts merely because they were members of Parliament and he persuaded Parliament to pass the Self-denying Ordinance which forbade members (with one or two exceptions including Cromwell) to hold commissions in the army The nominal commander of the New Model Army was Lord Fairfax but Cromwell was its real leader

With the New Model Army Cromwell in a battle fought at Naseby in Northamptonshire on 14th June 1645 inflicted upon the Royalists a blow which destroyed them as a fighting force Montrose was de

feated in Scotland in September and with his defeat the last hope of the Royalists vanished while the credit of Charles was further impaired by the discovery from letters captured at Naseby that he had been planning to bring over Irish rebels to fight on his side A few isolated places including Oxford which had been the Royalist headquarters held out for the king through the winter of 1645–46 Just before Oxford surrendered in June 1646 Charles made his way to the Scottish army which was still in England and gave himself up to the Scots at Newark in Nottinghamshire

The king had been defeated there could be no doubt of that But he owed his defeat to the New Model Army and though the army fought in the name and under the authority of the Parliament it was not the obedient servant of the two Houses The soldiers had been compelled to take the Solemn League and Covenant but they were Independents who hated Presbytery as much as they hated Episcopacy and were determined that Presbytery should not become the only form of Church government permitted in England The Parliament by the bargain made with the Scots had promised to allow nothing but Presbyterianism and it was trying to keep its promise and to make the Church of England a Presbyterian Church The army demanded toleration for Independents the Parliament could not and would not give toleration and the army which had done its work when the king surrendered refused to be disbanded until it received both a guarantee of toleration for Independents and arrears of pay which were owing to the soldiers A new quarrel had arisen—a quarrel between Parliament and army

Neither party in this new quarrel believed that it was possible to govern England without making some arrangement with the king Charles had been taken by the Scots from Newark to Newcastle on Tyne where the Scottish army was remaining until it should receive payment of its expenses in accordance with the agreement made when it entered England in 1644 The Scots

would have supported Charles if he would have taken the Solemn League and Covenant a step both repugnant to his conscience and inconsistent with the obligations he owed to the Churchmen who had fought and suffered in his cause He declined to do so and the Scots in return for the payment of a part of the sum owed to them by the English Parliament went back to Scotland in January 1647 after surrendering the king to representatives of the Parliament The army leaders resolved to obtain possession of his person and in June he was captured by a body of soldiers and taken to his own palace of Hampton Court

Charles like the leaders of both army and Parliament, believed that neither party could do without him, and in this belief he refused terms offered him by the army in a document known as the Heads of Proposals The terms were as good as a defeated king could have expected though they included the appointment of Ministers of State by Parliament and parliamentary control of the militia for ten years It may be asked why the army proposed to give so much power to Parliament The answer is that the existing Parliament which included so many Presbyterians was by the terms of the proposed agreement to be dissolved and that its successor was to be elected by new and much larger constituencies Cromwell and the other leaders of the army were quite sure that the new electors would not return to the new Parliament men who were pledged to carry out the conditions of the Solemn League and Covenant The religious settlement suggested in the Heads of Proposals was toleration for Episcopalians Presbyterians and Independents alike none of them being allowed to interfere with the religious liberty of the others The only form of Church government to which toleration was to be refused was Roman Catholicism or Popery as it was usually described at the time

The king imagining that he would get better terms from the Parliament refused to agree to the Heads of Proposals He escaped from Hampton Court but was

captured and imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight His rejection of the terms offered by the army led a large number of the soldiers to advocate the creation of an English republic and the strength of this party known as the Levellers was soon increased by the events of the year 1648 when Charles succeeded in bringing about a second Civil War in which he hoped that king Parliament and Scots would prove too strong for the army

The Scots were furious at the failure to establish Presbytery in England and the Scottish Parliament agreed to send a fresh army into England to fight this time on the side of the king who promised to give Presbytery a trial by establishing it for three years in England The Parliament disapproved of the negotiations which led to the Engagement as the agreement between the king and the Scots was called and showed its disapproval by passing a resolution that No Addresses should be made to him—that is that no further negotiations should take place between Parliament and king The vote of No Addresses was passed in January 1648 but in the following summer when the Marquis of Hamilton led a Scottish army into England and Cromwell's soldiers left London to meet the invasion in the north the Presbyterians in the Commons resolved to make another attempt at an agreement with Charles Even after Cromwell had completely defeated Hamilton at Preston in August Parliament repealed the vote of No Addresses and began negotiations with the king which are known as the Treaty of Newport where Charles was residing in the Isle of Wight

The second Civil War of 1648 and the Treaty of Newport proved to be the destruction of both king and Parliament Cromwell returned to London in triumph and in wrath and on 6th December he sent one of his officers Colonel Pride to expel all the Presbyterian members of the Commons 'Pride's Purge' left in the House a small minority of Independents who might

be trusted at all events for a time to carry out the policy of the army leaders Thus the two objects with which Parliament had begun the war—the increase of its own authority and the establishment of a Presbyterian Church in England—were not secured by the defeat of the king for Parliament lost all its authority and became dependent on the army

Cromwell and the other leaders of the army at once abandoned the pretension that the war was waged to deliver the king from bad advisers They accused Charles of treason the remnant of the Parliament contemptuously called the Rump created a court of justice to try him and on 30th January 1649 he was beheaded in front of the palace of Whitehall There were many who sympathized with him in the reversal of his fortunes but they did not dare to show their sympathy The country was passing under the dictatorship of an army leader The Rump abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords declared England to be a Commonwealth and elected a Council of State to carry on the government

At first it was not fully understood that the war which had been made to restrict the authority of the Crown had resulted in placing in the hands of a general a power greater than the king had claimed to enjoy Cromwell was the first President of the Council of State but within a few weeks he had to go to Ireland to repress a rebellion He did so successfully but there were many cruel incidents in his campaign and he did not pacify the country He settled many Englishmen upon lands forfeited from their native owners and he trusted to them to maintain English influence After subduing Ireland in 1649 he went to Scotland in the following year The Scots had acknowledged the succession of Charles II the eldest son of the dead king and Charles came to Scotland in 1650 in the hope of regaining the crown of both kingdoms. Cromwell defeated the Scottish army at Dunbar on 3rd September 1650 but the Scots raised fresh forces and invaded England with the young king

at their head On the first anniversary of Dunbar 3rd September 1651 Cromwell finally defeated the Scots at Worcester and the adventurous escape of Charles to the Continent soon became a familiar tale in every Royalist household

Cromwell s victory over the Scots was followed by the inclusion of Scotland in the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and Scottish and Irish members were to sit in the Parliaments of the United Common wealth The Commonwealth was still governed by the Rump and the absence of Cromwell from 1649 to 1651 enabled the Rump to secure considerable power After the Battle of Worcester his attention was diverted from home affairs by a Dutch war The English and the Dutch were rivals for the carrying trade of the world and the English Parliament passed in 1651 the Navigation Act which forbade foreign goods to be brought to English ports except in English vessels or in vessels belonging to the country from which the goods came This Act increased the jealousy between England and Holland and in 1652 England began its first war fought solely for reasons of trade Both countries had strong navies Charles I had paid great attention to the English navy He had gained nothing from his efforts for the navy had taken the side of the Parliament but it is to his credit that it was ready for war Each nation had also a great admiral—Robert Blake and Martin Tromp The war began with a victory gained by Tromp off Dungeness in 1652 but Blake was successful in two great sea fights in the following year and the war was brought to an end in 1654 without any clear settlement of the questions at issue except for a concession made by the Dutch in agreeing to observe an ancient custom of saluting English ships in the English Channel

When the Dutch war came to an end the Rump was no longer in existence It attempted to exercise an authority which Cromwell was unwilling to allow it to possess and in April 1653 he sent soldiers to expel the last members of the Long Parliament Cromwell wished

to rule by means of a Parliament but he meant to have a Parliament which would do what he wanted He did not dare to summon a House of Commons elected either by the old constituencies or by the whole people of the country for he knew not only that the Royalists the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians would vote against him but also that many of his own followers who held the views of the Levellers (*cf* p 57) were indignant at the powers which he exercised They had fought to take away the king's authority and a still greater authority had been seized by their own general Yet though he knew that a free vote of the English people would drive him from power he clung to power because he also knew that without him there would be no government at all His opponents hated each other more than they disliked him and after getting rid of him they could not possibly work together for any other purpose It was a choice between the rule of Cromwell and the outbreak of a new civil war

If he could not summon a freely elected Parliament he might bring together in one way or another a body of men who could be described as a Parliament and could give some sort of constitutional authority to his acts He tried three such experiments In 1653 he nominated a number of Independents who sat for a few months and received the nickname of Barebone's Parliament from one of its members a London tanner and a well known Puritan preacher who bore the unusual name of Praise-God Barebone These men though chosen by Cromwell proved to be much too extreme in their ideas to pass the laws that he desired and he got rid of them Then by the authority of a council composed of army officers he changed in 1644 the Commonwealth into a Protectorate and he became Lord Protector The document which constituted Cromwell Protector was called the Instrument of Government and it gave the country a written constitution One of the causes of the Civil War had been the doubt which existed about the real powers of the Crown The Instrument of Government

defined the powers of the Lord Protector and of the Parliament which he was to summon every three years a Parliament to be elected by new and wider constituencies than the old Parliaments had been

The new Parliament met in September 1654 Royalists had not been allowed to vote and Cromwell hoped that he had secured an assembly of his own supporters but the House at once began to oppose him He repeated the device of Pride's Purge and expelled a large number of Levellers but the members who remained thought that the Instrument of Government gave the Protector too much power and would not adopt his policy Despairing of being able to agree with the Parliament Cromwell dissolved it and for over a year from January 1655 England was under military rule There was no Parliament and the country was governed by a number of officers of the rank of major general Cromwell found it easy to keep the country in subjection by means of his army but not so easy to obtain money for the expenses of government and since 1654 he had been engaged in a war with Spain The war was successful for in 1655 Admiral Blake added the Spanish colony of Jamaica to the overseas possessions of the Commonwealth but it was also expensive and in 1656 Cromwell found it necessary to summon the second Protectorate Parliament from which he again excluded all who were likely to be his opponents

This new experiment was at first successful Cromwell pleased the Parliament by abandoning the system of government by major generals and it voted him a supply for carrying on the Spanish war He believed that he would find it easier to keep on good terms with his Parliament if it consisted of two Houses instead of only one and the Parliament met his wishes by drawing up in 1657 a new written constitution called the Humble Petition and Advice The new upper chamber was not called the House of Lords but the Other House The Protector was given the power of nominating its members He was also invited to take the title of king but he

declined to do so contenting himself with the power of choosing his successor which was given him by the Humble Petition and Advice This meant that the Protectorate would become hereditary in the Cromwell family and this fact and the suggestion of his taking the kingly title shows that opinion was tending towards the restoration of a monarchy in some form

The good relations between the Protector and his Parliament lasted only for a little over a year In the beginning of 1658 the Commons in spite of having voted for the creation of the Other House refused to recognize its authority and Cromwell once more found it impossible to rule by means of a Parliament Even the successes of his foreign policy did not induce the Lower House to act in accordance with his wishes Protestant opinion was gratified in 1656 by the success with which the Lord Protector regarding himself as the defender of oppressed Protestants on the continent of Europe intervened on behalf of the persecuted Waldenses a body of Protestants under the rule of the *Duke of Savoy* *In 1657 Blake* won a great naval victory over the Spaniards off Teneriffe and destroyed a Spanish fleet and in the same year the fort of Mardyke in the Spanish Netherlands was captured by an army of the Commonwealth fighting in alliance with the French

It is doubtful if Cromwell who was acting in the interests of Protestantism in Europe was right in making war on Spain and negotiating an alliance with France The power of Spain had long been declining and it was France under Louis XIV that was about to prove to be the real danger to Protestantism But this consideration had nothing to do with the parliamentary opposition to him for the Commons agreed with him in regarding Spain as the *natural enemy* of *England* Many of them were Republicans or Levellers and jealous of Cromwell's power and they proposed to alter the new constitution which they had just made Others were accused by Cromwell of being Royalists and of intriguing with *Charles II* in *Holland* *Early in 1654 he dissolved*

his last Parliament and again ruled as the leader of an army That same year on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester Oliver Cromwell died He had made the country great and respected but be could not make it contented

The Royalists expected that the death of the great Protector would immediately be followed by a Restoration They were disappointed for Richard Cromwell whom bis father had nominated as his successor assumed the Protectorship without opposition But his rule lasted only for a few months He tried a fresh parliamentary experiment and summoned a Parliament elected by the old constituencies But the jealousy between Parliament and army was as great as ever and the army insisted on Richard s recalling the Rump He did so but resigned office and went into private life At the Restoration he took refuge in France but was allowed to return to England before the end of the reign of Charles II, and he lived unmolested to the age of eighty six

The army got on with the Rump no better than with Richard Cromwell s Parliament and the country seemed to be unable to find a settled government At last in the beginning of 1660 General George Monck who had been governing Scotland came to London with the army which had been under his command for nine years Monck had begun life as a Royalist and he made up his mind that the only solution of the country s difficulties lay in a restoration of the Royal House He forced the Rump to recall the surviving members of the Long Parliament who had been expelled by Colonel Pride When the Long Parliament met again after an interval of over eleven years it decreed its own dissolution and ordered fresh elections to take place The members elected in the spring of 1660 could not form a Parliament because a Parliament required the summons of a king and it was therefore known as a Convention Charles II who had been watching the progress of events issued a declaration from the Dutch town of

Breda where he was residing The Declaration of Breda promised that a Parliament should decide which of the men who had executed Charles I should be punished and that the king would pardon everybody except the men thus selected by Parliament that the soldiers should receive arrears of pay and that liberty would be given to those who had tender consciences in matters of religion Cromwell had wished to be tolerant he had permitted Presbyterians and Independents alike to follow their own customs and he had even allowed Jews to settle in England whence they had been banished by Edward I But he gave no toleration to Roman Catholics, and he could not show any favour to Episcopalians because they were all Royalists The use of the Prayer Book had been forbidden and the clergy of the Church of England had been expelled from their livings which were filled sometimes by Presbyterians and sometimes by Independents Charles intended to restore the Church of England but he took this means of reassuring the Presbyterian members of the Convention that they would not be persecuted The Convention included a number of Presbyterians but it had no hesitation in inviting the king to return

On his thirtieth birthday 29th May 1660 Charles II (1660–85) was enthusiastically welcomed as he rode through London

# CHAPTER IV

## THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

The return of Charles II in 1660 is known as the Restoration. It was the restoration of two great historic English institutions, the Monarchy and the Church of England. The monarchy which came back under Charles II was not quite the same thing as the monarchy which had been destroyed during the Civil War. In some ways it was weaker. It is true that in theory there had been no change. No bargain was made with the young king and he succeeded to the legal powers of the Crown. His reign was dated from the 30th January 1649 and the intervening period was described as an usurpation. Everything that had been done by the Long Parliament after the spring of 1642—everything that had been done by the Parliaments of the Commonwealth and Protectorate—was illegal and invalid for none of their Acts had been sanctioned by the Crown. But just before the outbreak of the war Charles I had given an unwilling assent to a number of Acts which destroyed the machinery upon which he had relied for the exercise of the royal prerogative and these Acts with only two important exceptions were allowed to remain on the statute book. The Act of 1642 which excluded the bishops from the House of Lords was repealed in 1661, and the Triennial Act of 1641 which provided for a summons of Parliament if the sovereign

allowed more than three years to elapse without calling one was repealed in 1664 though the Act of Repeal stipulated that not more than three years should be allowed to elapse without a meeting of Parliament But it was still illegal for the king to collect revenue by means of Ship money Tunnage and Poundage and the other means which Charles I had used and he could not revive without breaking the law the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission Further Charles II had learned the lesson which his father had failed to learn—that there are limits to the exercise of any sovereign power He used to say that he was determined not to go on his travels again and the words indicated his realization of the necessity of giving way when the temper of the nation was roused We shall see that on such occasions he did give way

On the other hand the restored monarchy was in some ways stronger If the king had learned his lesson the people had learned theirs They looked back with horror upon the years of war and still more upon the years when the government of England was a military despotism They resented the restrictions which the triumphant Puritans had imposed upon social customs —the prohibition of horse racing and cock fighting and stage plays They believed that resistance to their sovereign was bound to lead to war and that war would inevitably result in the rule of an army and they were prepared to endure much rather than run such risks again This attitude of mind persisted throughout the reign of Charles II and it enabled him to leave the monarchy much stronger than he found it

The work of the Long Parliament on its constitutional side was therefore not entirely undone by the Restoration On its religious side it was entirely undone The Church of England was stronger than it had ever been before and it used its power to take vengeance upon the Puritans who had proscribed and persecuted it The Presbyterians expected some reward from Charles II because the Restoration was to a

large extent, a Presbyterian movement. It was the Presbyterian majority in the restored Long Parliament that summoned the Convention and there were many Presbyterians in the Convention which recalled the king. Charles himself was willing to be tolerant largely because during a large part of his reign he was bent on securing toleration for Roman Catholics. He turned the Convention into a Parliament and if he had been able to keep it in existence for a few years the course of English ecclesiastical history would have been very different from what it actually was. But enthusiasm for the old Constitution for king and for Church was very much stronger in the end of 1660 and the House of Commons which had been elected in the spring no longer represented the national feeling. Charles had no choice but to dissolve it and to summon a new Parliament.

That Parliament which met in 1661 was not dissolved until 1679 and it is known as the Cavalier Parliament or the Long Parliament of Charles II. The House of Commons was composed of ardent Royalists whose object was to avenge themselves upon their old enemies. Some of them wanted to exclude from any public office all who had acknowledged the authority of the Parliament or of Oliver Cromwell. Such a law would have deprived the king of the services of General Monck who had just been made Duke of Albemarle and of others who had taken a large share in the Restoration and it was never passed but the proposal illustrates the frame of mind of the House. With regard to the settlement of the Church the Parliament did get its own way and that way was in keeping with the wishes not of the king but of his chief adviser in the early years of the reign Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon. Hyde had been a member of the Opposition at the beginning of the Long Parliament but had become a Royalist after the Grand Remonstrance. He had been with Charles II in exile and had given him much wise counsel in the interval between the death of Cromwell

and the Restoration He was a very ardent Anglican or English Churchman and averse to toleration either for Puritans or for Roman Catholics

The livings in the Church of England were partly filled with Presbyterians or Independents who had been appointed when the use of the Prayer Book was forbidden and partly by episcopal clergy who had submitted to the Puritan régime when their more conscientious fellows were expelled from their parishes The latter were quite willing to conform again to episcopal Church government and the use of the liturgy but most of the former were not prepared to do so In order to prevent differences of forms of worship in the Church of England Parliament passed in 1662 the Act of Uniformity which compelled the Puritan ministers either to accept the Prayer Book and receive ordination from a bishop or to give up their livings The large majority of the Puritans conscientiously gave up their livings and suffered what many of the old clergy had suffered some years before The Act of Uniformity cannot be regarded as unfair in the circumstances of the day What was unfair was that at the same time the Corporation Act of 1661 compelled every one who held office in a municipality to receive Holy Communion in the Church of England and that the Licensing Act of 1662 forbade the Puritans to be schoolmasters and deprived them of the freedom of the press

Thus Clarendon was doing with the enthusiastic support of the Cavalier Parliament, things that had provoked resistance when Charles I had tried to do them by the royal prerogative The Parliament of 1661 was busy undoing the work done by the Parliament of 1641 Charles II did not approve of Clarendon s policy and he asked Parliament to give him the power of granting dispensations or exemptions from Acts of Parliament which required conformity to the Church of England There was no doubt that Charles intended to use this power to benefit Roman Catholics as well as Puritans and the Cavalier Parliament in spite of its

ardent loyalty was not prepared to sacrifice what its members believed to be the interests of the Church of England The Bill which the king asked for was not passed and the Parliament proceeded to devise new means of persecuting the Puritans whom Charles had been trying to protect The Puritan ministers who forfeited their livings under the Act of Uniformity began to preach to non conforming congregations Such a meeting for worship was described as a Conventicle an old word for a secret or illegal meeting The Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade under heavy penalties Puritan congregations to meet for worship and the Five Mile Act of 1665 prohibited Puritan ministers from coming within five miles of a borough or of any parish in which they had held a living Their only way of escape was to take an oath that they would not try to make any change in the existing ecclesiastical system and that they believed resistance to a king to be a sin against God This doctrine of Non Resistance was the distinctive feature of Anglicanism after the Restoration and it was largely a result of the execution of Charles I who was venerated as a martyr Moderate men believed that it was probably unwise to resist a king because resistance might lead to military despotism the strict Anglicans insisted that it must always be sinful to resist a king by force of arms The doctrine of the Divine Right had been given a new lease of life by the death of Charles I

The persecuting Acts of the Cavalier Parliament are known as the Clarendon Code and they are what we most generally associate with the name of Clarendon While his religious policy pleased the Parliament he made many enemies in other ways He was a man of modest beginnings who had risen to the great position of Chancellor—what we should to-day call Prime Minister His daughter Anne was married to the king's brother, James, Duke of York the heir to the throne There was much jealousy of the greatness which the family of Hyde had achieved Charles him

self disliked Clarendon s religious policy and resented the freedom with which the Chancellor reproved his gay life and his debased pleasures There was a strong feeling both in Parliament and in the country against his foreign policy

In foreign affairs Clarendon continued the policy of Cromwell, an alliance with France, and France was not popular in England at the time The marriage of Charles II was connected with this French alliance By the advice of Clarendon he married Catharine of Braganza the sister of the King of Portugal and Portugal was the enemy of Spain and the friend of France The Portuguese paid handsomely for their alliance with this country They gave us Bombay in India and Tangier on the north west coast of Africa and they paid a large dowry. Catharine was liked and respected in England but her marriage was childless the Duke of York continued to be the next heir to the throne and Clarendon s enemies disliked the prospect of the ultimate succession of a grandchild of a man who had begun life as Edward Hyde Two of his grand children were in fact destined to sit on the throne but in circumstances which no one could have foreseen Much more unpopular than the king s marriage was an agreement by which Clarendon sold Dunkirk to the French in 1662 This was really quite a wise bargain but the ambition of the French king Louis XIV a cousin of Charles was creating alarm and the cession of Dunkirk was supposed to remove a check upon his advance into the Spanish Netherlands which he was about to claim in right of his wife

After the cession of Dunkirk came in 1665 an unfortunate Dutch war The Navigation Act of the Long Parliament had been re-enacted the other causes of quarrel between England and Holland had never been settled and English and Dutch trade jealousies were as acute as ever Yet it is difficult to say exactly why the two nations fought again The war began in 1665 with an English victory off Lowestoft but good fortune did

not always favour the navy There was another victory off the North Foreland in 1666 but the war was expensive and Louis XIV for his own private reasons took the side of the Dutch Negotiations for peace began in 1667 and the English Government not expecting an attack while peace was being discussed laid up the ships in order to save money The Dutch seized the opportunity sent their men of war up the Thames and into the Medway and bombarded Chatham This exploit did not prevent the conclusion of peace and in 1667 by the Treaty of Breda the Dutch gave up to the English their colonies on the coast of North America which became the English colonies of New York and New Jersey These Dutch possessions which had been known as New Netherlands would have prevented an English occupation of the whole seaboard of North America and the Treaty of Breda was therefore a successful arrangement in English interests

But public opinion at home cared little about the colonies The disgrace of having the Dutch in the Medway and of the sound of hostile guns penetrating into the streets of London was in the minds of Englishmen of the time and was to live long in their memories The capital had just passed through two appalling experiences and Londoners were in a state of nervous tension In 1665 they had suffered from the Great Plague which had carried off about a hundred thousand victims and in 1666 they had been almost equally alarmed by the Great Fire which destroyed two-thirds of the old City of London The Plague the virulence of which was the result of bad sanitation could not be regarded at the time as other than an act of God but the Fire the origin of which was almost certainly accidental was believed to have been the work of secret enemies of the kingdom—the French or the Dutch or the English Roman Catholics The unpleasant conviction that conspirators were plotting against the life of the nation increased the unpopularity of the Government because it made men nervous

and suspicious and the last Dutch attack helped to bring the Chancellor to ruin Clarendon had not wanted war with Holland and had tried to prevent it He could not be blamed for either the Plague or the Fire but his unpopularity became so great that his enemies who had once before failed in an attempt to bring about his downfall, found a new opportunity and succeeded In 1667 he was dismissed from office and was told that he would be wise to fly the country He did so and was banished for life Charles was good natured so long as good nature cost him nothing but he was not the man to risk anything in trying to defend or protect his own and his father's friend and a faithful and loyal servant

England had little reason for its rejoicings over the fall of Clarendon Charles relieved from the necessity of following his advice attempted to achieve what was his own main object but was more distasteful than anything else to the Cavalier Parliament—namely to secure toleration for Roman Catholics No one minister succeeded to Clarendon's power and the men who advised the king were chosen by him because they were ready to further this object Five of the most important of them became known as the Cabal a word which was in common use for a secret council It was observed that the initials of their names spelled the word and Sir Thomas Clifford the Earl of Arlington the Duke of Buckingham (a son of the favourite of James I) Lord Ashley and the Scottish Duke of Lauderdale are known as the Cabal Ministry One of them Clifford was openly and another Arlington was secretly Roman Catholic in religion Ashley who was soon to be better known as Earl of Shaftesbury, and Buckingham were in favour of toleration for Protestant nonconformists. With such ministers and with the help of Louis XIV Charles hoped to get his own way

Louis XIV had taken the side of the Dutch because it suited his policy at the time but before the war came to an end he had made up his mind to seize the Spanish

Netherlands which he claimed in right of his wife a Spanish princess The Dutch could not acquiesce in this extension of the French dominions up to their own borders and the brief alliance between France and Holland came to an end Charles had a secret agreement with Louis but he allowed his new ministers to take a popular step by forming in 1668 the Triple Alliance of England Holland and Sweden to check the ambitions of the French king although England had just been at war with Holland the English people felt that they could not allow the Dutch Protestants to be crushed But Charles never meant the Triple Alliance to take effect and in the same year he began with France a series of negotiations which led in 1670, to the Secret Treaty of Dover This agreement which Charles succeeded in keeping a profound secret bound him to profess openly at a suitable opportunity his conversion to Rome and to give help to France against Holland In return he was to receive from France a sum of money large enough to enable him to govern without calling a Parliament The terms of the Treaty of Dover were not known even to the Cabal although the ministers did know that Charles had agreed to join France in making war on Holland It was hoped that toleration for Protestant nonconformists would serve as a bribe to persuade English Protestants to acquiesce in an attack upon a Protestant Power already menaced by France The Cavalier Parliament was as strongly opposed to toleration as it was to a French Alliance and for two years Charles avoided summoning it to meet

A quarrel was picked with Holland and in 1672 the second Dutch war of the reign broke out Although France attacked the Dutch by land at the same time the war was unsuccessful and a drawn battle in Southwold Bay off the coast of Suffolk in May 1672 was remarkably like a Dutch victory The war was expensive and Charles though he had ruined many London merchants by suspending payment of interest upon money which he had borrowed from them (an incident

known as the Stoppage of the Exchequer) was so hard up that he had to summon Parliament to meet in 1673. He did so knowing that there would be a violent attack upon his religious policy for in 1672 he had issued a Declaration of Indulgence in which he used the royal prerogative to exempt both Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters from the operation of the penal laws. Though he anticipated trouble he believed that he was strong enough to defeat the opposition. Scarcely had Parliament met when he discovered that he was not strong enough. The Cavalier Parliament in spite of its loyalty to the Crown insisted that the king had no power to suspend altogether the operation of Acts passed by Parliament. Charles saw the danger of his position and he accepted the humiliation of having to withdraw his Declaration. The Parliament was not content with this victory and it passed the famous Test Act of 1673 which excluded from any kind of public office a man who did not communicate in the Church of England. The new law affected all dissenters from the Church of England but it was specially aimed against Roman Catholics and Charles did not dare to refuse his assent to it.

The Test Act broke up the Cabal for Clifford as a conscientious Roman Catholic had to resign his office as a minister of the Crown and though Shaftesbury who was an ardent advocate of toleration clung to office he was soon dismissed. At the same time the Duke of York who had been converted to the Roman faith resigned his post of Lord High Admiral and his command of the fleet in the Dutch war. His successor fought some more drawn battles the war was becoming very unpopular and peace was made in 1674. It was a second humiliation for Charles who was forced to desert his French ally. Meanwhile he found a new minister the Earl of Danby whose policy resembled that of Clarendon in so far as he attempted to strengthen the Crown by satisfying the Anglican majority in the Cavalier Parliament. On the other hand Charles forced Danby

to assent to a new treaty with France Danby was personally opposed to a French alliance and in 1677 he negotiated the marriage of the Princess Mary the elder daughter of the Duke of York who had been brought up as a Protestant to her cousin William Prince of Orange the son of a daughter of Charles I William of Orange was the Stadholder that is the Chief Magistrate of Holland and the marriage led to a treaty between England and Holland Danby's Dutch policy was very distasteful to Louis XIV and the French king brought about the fall of the English minister by revealing an agreement with France to which Danby had unwillingly consented on the written instructions of the king

The fall of Danby occurred in the course of one of the most disgraceful episodes in English history The Protestant feeling of the nation was deeply stirred by recent events in the royal house Though the king's promise to avow his conversion to Rome was a secret the sincerity of his Protestantism was generally suspected His brother and heir the Duke of York was an avowed Roman Catholic His first wife Anne Hyde had been reconciled to Rome on her deathbed and he had just married a Roman Catholic princess Mary of Modena. The prospect of a succession of Roman Catholic sovereigns in close alliance with France was alarming and the national alarm was used by a scoundrel named Titus Oates a clergyman of the Church of England who had himself professed conversion to Rome Oates asserted that while resident in a Roman Catholic college in France he had detected a Popish Plot for the murder of Charles and the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England

A mysterious tragedy gave a wide advertisement to Oates's statements Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey a London magistrate who had officially received the informer's allegations about a plot was found dead on Primrose Hill in October 1678 Nobody can tell to this day how Godfrey died but it was universally that he had been murdered by the Roman C

Both Houses of Parliament declared their belief in the reality of the Popish Plot Roman Catholics were debarred from sitting in either House and any one who doubted the statements of Oates and other informers was at once suspected of being an accomplice Accusations were brought against innocent Roman Catholics and were accepted by credulous juries whose reason was blinded by the dread of unknown designs against the State For English Roman Catholics the year 1678–79 was a reign of terror and there were many innocent sufferers whose lives were sacrificed to the greed of perjured informers and to the alarm spread by the false witness which they gave There was a conspiracy, but the plotters were not those whom Oates accused Charles himself and the Duke of York undoubtedly intended to restore Roman Catholicism in England with the help of Louis XIV and suspicions of the royal policy gave strength and force to Oates's story

In the middle of the excitement of the Popish Plot Charles in January 1679 dissolved the Cavalier Parliament partly in the hope of saving Danby from an impeachment after the revelation of his negotiations with France He did not save Danby from a long imprisonment in the course of which the Commons insisted that a pardon which Charles had granted to the accused minister could not avail to prevent an impeachment—a very important stage in the process of establishing the responsibility of ministers to Parliament for their official actions and for the advice they gave to the Crown But Charles did succeed in preventing an actual trial in the course of which unpleasant secrets about his own relations with France could scarcely fail to be brought to light Against this important gain from a dissolution of the Long Parliament of the reign Charles had to set a serious disadvantage The new House of Commons elected during a period of great public agitation came to Westminster in March 1679 determined to save English Protestantism from the dangers that threatened it The king was frightened He promised to be by

the advice of a large Council the president of which was Lord Shaftesbury who was the leader of the opposition to the royal policy. Shaftesbury was responsible for two famous Bills One of these was directed against the Duke of York. The object of the supposed Popish Plot was to place James on the throne instead of Charles and many who did not believe him guilty of planning the murder of his brother were not prepared to allow an avowed Roman Catholic to retain his right of succeeding to the throne should the king die childless The House of Commons approved by a large majority, a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the throne If the Bill became law the next heir would be his Protestant daughter Mary Princess of Orange The other Bill associated with the name of Shaftesbury was a Bill to prevent accused persons from being kept in prison for an indefinite period without being brought to trial There was an old process of law known as a writ of Habeas Corpus—that is an order to a gaoler to produce the person of an untried prisoner Shaftesbury's Bill aimed at preventing the Government from defeating the purpose of this writ which ordered that the accused person should be either tried or released Gaolers had been instructed to delay replying to the writ and so the prisoner was still retained in prison The Bill compelled a gaoler under a heavy penalty to make a return in answer to the writ within a reasonable time and in other ways it safeguarded the rights given to an English subject by the Habeas Corpus writ

The second of these Bills passed both Houses and became law as the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 Charles who was always loyal to his brother's interests feared that the Exclusion Bill would also pass through both Houses and after giving his consent to the Habeas Corpus Bill he dissolved his second Parliament which sat for less than four months and called another The election results showed that the country had not changed its mind and Charles knew that when the House of Commons met the Exclusion Bill would again be intro-

duced He therefore prorogued the new Parliament without allowing it to meet and he dismissed Shaftesbury and abandoned the pretence of governing through a large Privy Council There was widespread indignation at the king's refusal to allow the newly elected Parliament to meet and petitions were sent to Charles asking him to summon it The petitioners were supporters of the Exclusion Bill and they soon came to form a definite political party Its members were nicknamed Whigs a term borrowed from Scotland where it had been applied to a body of extreme Covenanters during the Civil War The nickname came to be adopted by the petitioners and the Whig Party began as a body of English Protestants who repudiated the Divine Right of Kings and wished to alter the order of succession to the throne

This view was specially associated with the Protestant nonconformists and it was by no means held by the nation at large The Anglicans continued to support the doctrine of Divine Right and they insisted that a nation had no power to exclude the proper heir to the throne whatever his religion might be It was their duty to obey and to trust Providence to protect the Church of England from a Roman Catholic sovereign They were stern opponents of any attempt to give toleration to Roman Catholics just as the Cavalier Parliament had been but they would not listen to suggestions of refusing obedience to whomsoever God might set over them as their king They also insisted that by the law of England it was the king's prerogative to decide when Parliament should meet and they abhorred the attempt of the petitioners to interfere with the free exercise of that prerogative They were at first known as Abhorrers but they soon accepted the nickname of Tories a term borrowed from Ireland where it was used to describe bands of outlawed Irishmen

When the third Parliament of the reign of Charles II was at last allowed to meet in October 1680 the Ex

clusion Bill again passed through the House of Commons But the Whigs had made the mistake of advocating the claims of the Duke of Monmouth a natural son of the king. A story was spread that Charles had been married to Monmouth's mother Charles was much attached to Monmouth but he made a solemn declaration that the story was untrue In spite of this, it was widely believed and Shafteshury was known to favour Monmouth s claim The House of Lords threw out the Exclusion Bill The Commons sent an address to the king, asking him to help them to prevent his brother s succession and he replied by dissolving the Parliament He needed money and he could not avoid summoning another but he ordered it to meet at Oxford where the Opposition would miss the encouragement given them by the sympathy of the citizens of London who had been terrified by the plot and were strenuous partisans of the Bill It duly met but when the Commons resolved to reintroduce the Exclusion Bill Charles dissolved his fourth Parliament It had sat only for a week (March 21–26 1681) and in the four remaining years of his reign Charles never summoned another

The king had taken a grave risk for he was following the course which had brought his father to the scaffold Would the nation stand a revival of arbitrary government? Charles relied upon the general unwillingness to take up arms against the Crown and on the widespread belief that a successful rebellion would bring no better result than a new period of military despotism He also relied upon a French pension with which to carry on the government without a Parliament Some contemporary observers thought that a renewal of civil war was inevitable but events proved that Charles from his own point of view was justified in taking the risk The Anglicans who regarded armed resistance to the Crown as sinful in any circumstances were reinforced by a large body of public opinion which held a civil war and a military despotism to be a more serious danger than the possible succession of a Roman Catholic

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incompatible—an increase in royal power and toleration for Roman Catholics While he tried to attain the second of these objects he found himself subjected to defeat and humiliation. The fierce outburst against Roman Catholics which was produced by the Popish Plot revealed to him the strength of the national feeling on this subject He made no effort to save the innocent victims of the plot and indeed any effort on his part would have been futile Concealing until he was on his death bed his own desire to be reconciled to the Roman Church he relied in his last years on the support of the Anglican Tories and with their help he made the Crown supreme in the government of the country The grief felt for his death was increased by a general apprehension of what was to come after him The Anglican belief in the Divine Right of kings had partly depended on the circumstance that the king had always been, at all events in name, a member of the Church of England It was about to be tested by the accession of a monarch who had left the Church of England The interests of Church and king had hitherto been the same Were they now to be different?

## CHAPTER V

### THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF STEWART

JAMES II came to the throne without opposition and the policy of the Exclusion Bill seemed to be dead He summoned a Parliament at once and there was a large Tory majority in the House of Commons partly but not entirely produced by the interference of Charles II with the charters of municipal corporations The loyalty of the Parliament was increased by a second blunder committed by the extreme Whigs who had fled to Holland after the Rye House Plot There they planned an invasion of England to place Monmouth on the throne He landed at Lyme Regis on the Dorset coast in June 1685 as the champion of English Protestantism which was specially strong in the south western counties He obtained a considerable following the Government was taken by surprise and his forces occupied Taunton But the raw recruits who had gathered round the standard of King Monmouth were no match for trained soldiers and on 5th July the rebels were completely defeated at Sedgemoor in Somerset Monmouth was executed and the rebels who had supported him were punished with a merciless severity which has never been forgotten Lord Jeffreys the judge who tried the prisoners behaved with a ferocious brutality which covered himself with infamy and gave to the circuit court over which he presided the name of the Bloody Assizes Staunch and even bigoted Angli

cans who abhorred rebellion as the worst of crimes began to feel sympathy for Jeffreys victims

After the suppression of Monmouth s rebellion James made his first attempt to revive the policy of toleration for Roman Catholics the abandonment of which had brought safety and success to Charles II A proposal had been made in the House of Commons to petition the king to put the penal laws in force and though out of consideration for the new monarch the Commons had declined to take this step they had reminded James that they cared more for the safety of the Church of England than for their own lives and property It was a warning that the loyalty of the Commons who had just voted him a large revenue was inspired by the same motives as had actuated the Cavalier Parliament James did not take the warning He was determined that Roman Catholics should have not only freedom of wor ship but all the rights of his other subjects He had already given commissions in the army to Roman Catholics and he asked Parliament to repeal the Test Act and to increase the numbers of the army His request was refused, and he prorogued Parliament in November 1685 It was not dissolved until the summer of 1687 but it never met again

James thus adopted the policy of the last years of his brother s reign but in very different conditions Charles relied on the loyalty of the Anglicans and on the general fear that resistance would lead to the rule of an army James made it impossible for the Anglicans to remain loyal to him and he convinced the country of his own intention to introduce the rule of an army Monmouth s rebellion gave him an excuse for maintaining a larger army than his brother had employed though Charles had found many opportunities of increasing the small body of royal guards which was retained at the Restoration Parliament had refused to sanction an increase but James took his own way without regard to its wishes Parliament had also refused to allow him to employ Roman Catholic officers but he continued to do

so At first he gave a special dispensation or exemption to individual officers His right to do so was challenged and a case was brought before the law courts James followed the evil precedents set by James I and Charles I and by dismissing judges who were known to oppose his claim he obtained a decision in favour of the dispensing power of the Crown Then he claimed not merely to dispense with the Test Act in individual cases but to suspend its operation altogether and in a Declaration of Indulgence issued in April 1687 he assumed by royal prerogative the power of forbidding any religious test for public office

The Declaration of Indulgence applied to Protestant Nonconformists as well as to Roman Catholics but James was known to be giving commissions in the army to Roman Catholics There were some riots in London where the populace resented the open celebration of Roman Catholic worship and the king brought his army to Hounslow Heath to terrify the capital into submission The Londoners remembered how they had been compelled to submit to Cromwell s army and they dreaded a Roman Catholic army even more than a Puritan one The general feeling that rebellion must be avoided because of the danger of army rule began to change into a general feeling that rebellion might be the only way of escaping the danger of army rule One of the arguments which had been used under Charles II to persuade men to obey the king was passing into an argument for resistance to the king

It was not only in the army that James employed the dispensing and suspending powers of the Crown Roman Catholics were admitted into the Privy Council and were given high offices of State and the king was sufficiently foolish to rouse the resentment and indignation of the Anglicans by granting to Roman Catholics dispensations to hold dignified positions which by law were reserved for clergymen of the Church of England The alarm of the Church was increased by the choice of the University of Oxford as the scene of this attack upon its rights

Oxford was the place most closely associated with the Anglican doctrine that the safety of the Church lay in obedience to the Crown and it was in Oxford that a large and influential section of the future clergy of the Church of England were being trained James allowed the Master of University College who had become a convert to the Roman Church to retain his post and he appointed another convert as Dean of Christ Church in spite of the fact that the Head of Christ Church was also the Dean of the Cathedral Church of the diocese of Oxford Parents began to withdraw their sons from Oxford believing that they would be educated there under Roman Catholic influence The Fellows of Magdalen College disobeyed James when he ordered them to elect a Roman Catholic President of the College and he visited them with the severest penalties in his power Not only were they expelled from their fellowships but an Ecclesiastical Commission which the king had appointed in spite of the Act of 1641 abolishing the Court of High Commission rendered them incapable of holding any office in the Church of England It was no wonder that the Anglicans themselves were beginning to doubt if they were right in believing that the Crown must always be the protector of the Church and in holding that it was wrong in any circumstances to resist a king who ruled by Divine Right and hereditary succession Might it not be right to oppose the king in order to save the Church ?

James knew that he was attacking the cherished convictions of his most loyal subjects but he believed—what they themselves had often preached—that nothing would induce them to take up arms against him He relied too upon the support of the Protestant Nonconformists in whose name addresses had been sent to thank him for the Declaration of Indulgence and in this confidence he was preparing to summon a Parliament which would consist largely of Roman Catholics and Dissenters He recalled the municipal charters which Charles II had issued to secure the return of Tory and

Anglican members for the boroughs and replaced them with charters drawn so as to bring about the election of Nonconformists and Roman Catholics He also tried to influence in the same direction the county constituencies and if he had reigned long enough to complete these preparations he might have succeeded in assembling a subservient House of Commons This achievement would have greatly strengthened his position for many of those who were ready to resist the king would have hesitated to resist king and Parliament It is however very doubtful if he could ever have attained complete success in an effort to pack Parliament He would have found opponents in the House of Lords and the Protestant Nonconformists were already showing their alarm at the introduction of Roman Catholics into the Government and the army

James was never able to try the experiment of a packed Parliament His own action precipitated a crisis before his preparations for this purpose were complete In April 1688 he issued a second Declaration of Indulgence and he instructed the bishops to order their clergy to read it from the pulpit of every parish church The Archbishop of Canterbury William Sancroft and six other bishops sent a petition asking the king to excuse them from giving this order to their clergy and in this petition they reminded James that Parliament had often declared the dispensing power of the Crown to be illegal James at once ordered them to be prosecuted for seditious libel It was a fresh challenge to the Church of England for five of the seven bishops were known to be devotedly loyal to Church and king—they were indeed so loyal that after the Revolution they gave up their bishoprics rather than acknowledge sovereigns who did not rule by Divine Right If such men could be prosecuted on such a charge who in England was safe?

While the bishops were awaiting their trial a son was born to James and his birth removed the last hope of English Protestants Until June 1688 the heir to the

throne had been the king's Protestant daughter, Mary wife of William of Orange the champion of Protestantism on the Continent and those who distrusted James looked forward to the next reign The birth of the baby prince meant that the next sovereign would be educated in his father's faith The Whigs who throughout the reign had been watching for an opportunity of dethroning James spread a report that the infant prince was a changeling whom the king and queen had conspired to foist upon the nation as the heir to the Crown in order to prevent the succession of James's Protestant daughter The accusation was untrue but it was very widely believed and it did much to bring about the fall of James

The public rejoicings which greeted the acquittal of the seven bishops revealed to James the danger which threatened him and he soon began to try to undo the work of the preceding three years It was too late The Whigs were convinced that rebellion and rebellion alone could save them from the rule of a Roman Catholic army and the Nonconformist members of the Whig party regarded the relief granted to themselves in the Declaration of Indulgence as a bribe to connive at measures which would prove to be the destruction of English Protestantism The Anglicans could not bring themselves to fight for a monarch who had shown himself the bitter and unrelenting enemy of the Church Many of the English Roman Catholics felt that James had been doing the right thing in the wrong way

Some of the Whig leaders sent an invitation to William of Orange to invade England and he accepted the invitation James could not trust the English navy but the French navy might have prevented William from sailing It was largely because William knew that Holland could not be safe while England supported France that he intervened in English affairs James like Charles II accepted money from Louis XIV, and it was essential for French interests that he should retain his throne But James in the autumn of 1688

had a dispute with Louis the French fleet remained inactive and a French army which could have kept William at home by invading Holland was sent elsewhere On 5th November 1688 William and his Dutch troops landed at Torbay in Devon and before a month had elapsed James found himself deserted He sent troops to Salisbury to stop William's progress but their commander Lord Churchill who as the Duke of Marlborough was to become the most famous of English soldiers went over to the Prince's side The king's own daughter the Princess Anne an intimate friend of Lady Churchill joined her brother in law James lost hope and courage and he fled to France in the end of December 1688 If he had remained in the country the loyalty of the Anglicans might have been rekindled by the spectacle of his son in law in arms against him but his flight destroyed any chance of the rise of a royalist party

A Convention was summoned as in 1660 and in February 1689 William and Mary became king and queen It was held that James by leaving the country, had abdicated the crown, and the claim of the infant Prince of Wales was ignored Mary was the next heir and her husband who refused to be a prince consort was placed on the throne along with her They were to reign as joint sovereigns and the survivor of them was to hold the crown for life then it was to pass to their children and if they had no child to the Princess Anne and her heirs The Tories attempted to satisfy their conscience by accepting the Whig fable that the Prince of Wales was not really the son of James and his queen and tried to convince themselves that Mary was the rightful heir and that they had not altered the succession But everybody knew in his heart that Mary had been placed on the throne not by hereditary right but by the decision of an English Parliament The sovereign of England could no longer claim to reign by Divine Right

With the end of Divine Right came a stringent restriction of the royal prerogative The settlement

and Parliament—a Social Contract (*cf* p 17) not merely in theory but in actual fact The new sovereigns accepted the crown upon definite conditions They renounced any claim to possess the power of suspending by royal prerogative the operation of Acts which had been passed by Parliament the power of imposing taxation without consent of Parliament and the power of maintaining a standing army without parliamentary authority The last stipulation was embodied in the Mutiny Act An army cannot exist without martial law and the power of suppressing mutiny or disobedience Since 1689 Parliament has annually authorized the Crown to maintain an army under the rules of military discipline This practice has two important results In the first place the very existence of an army and the number of its soldiers depend upon parliamentary sanction and in the second place Parliament must meet every year in order to give this sanction The necessity for an annual meeting of Parliament was also secured by the inability of the Crown to raise money without its consent and by the practice adopted after the Revolution of voting money for particular purposes a definite sum is appropriated for each special requirement of the Government and cannot be employed for any other purpose There has long been no danger of a sovereign s attempting to rule by means of an army and without a Parliament and the very idea is inconceivable to us But there was such a danger in the reigns of Charles II and James II and it is important to know how that danger was removed and ceased to affect the national life

The Revolution was followed only by very slight religious changes The law declared that no Roman Catholic could be king or queen of England and the Roman Catholics remained subject to all the old restrictions upon the exercise of their religion The Protestant Nonconformists who had helped to bring about the Revolution by their refusal to support the policy of James II were very poorly rewarded for the sacrifice

they had made The Declaration of Indulgence had given them complete freedom of worship and had made them eligible equally with members of the Church of England to hold office under the Crown All that was done for them in 1689 was to pass the Toleration Act It gave them freedom of worship on condition that their chapels were duly registered and licensed but it left them under the restrictions imposed by the Test Act of 1673 It was still necessary to qualify for office by taking communion in the Church of England and Dissenters who had helped to save the country were debarred from rendering it service in any official capacity

The English Revolution was accompanied by a similar movement in Scotland The history of Scotland since the Civil War had been very unhappy From 1651 to 1660 it was under military rule and though Cromwell and his officers had maintained peace and order the country was not prosperous and the Restoration was eagerly welcomed The reigns of Charles and James (James VII in Scotland) were a period of misgovernment Episcopacy was re established and Presbyterians who refused to conform were subjected to a fierce persecution which produced two rebellions A majority of the people of Scotland hailed with satisfaction the fall of King James and a Convention offered the crown of Scotland to William and Mary on conditions similar to those made by the English Convention but with the addition of a stipulation that the Episcopal Church should be disestablished The settlement of affairs in Scotland was interrupted by a rebellion in favour of King James The Scottish Jacobites (as they were called from Jacobus the Latin form of James ) were led by Viscount Dundee who as John Graham of Claverhouse had taken a prominent part in the persecution of the Presbyterian Covenanters He won a battle in the Pass of Killiecrankie in Perthshire in July 1689 but he was killed in the fighting and with his death the efforts of the Jacobites came for a time to an end

The Revolution left two important problems in Scot

land both of which were to have an influence upon English history The Jacobite party had not been defeated far less crushed and it continued to be active The Lowlands were for the most part Presbyterian and Whig, but the north-eastern counties Forfarshire Kincardine Aberdeenshire Banffshire and Moray were largely Episcopalian in sympathy and in these districts the re-establishment of Presbyterianism by the Scottish Parliament in 1690 was disliked and resented The Highlands were also opposed to Presbytery and were Episcopal or Roman Catholic and the chiefs of the Highland clans who had preserved an independent authority with which the central government had rarely interfered feared that the Revolution would bring them under the sway of the Lowlanders The Episcopalians in the north-east and the Highlanders were therefore ready to seize an opportunity for the restoration of the House of Stewart That opportunity did not come until many years had elapsed but the danger of a Jacobite rising in Scotland always required the consideration of the ministers both English and Scottish of King William and afterwards of Queen Anne All through these reigns there was in England itself a considerable body of Jacobite sentiment and though the English Jacobites did not actually take up arms it was always possible that the Jacobites in the two countries might combine in an effort to restore King James or his son

The other Scottish problem was also a direct result of the Revolution Since the Union of the Crowns in 1603 the Scottish Parliament (except during the period of civil war) had always been obedient and even servile in its attitude towards the sovereign and thus it had been possible for the monarch of two independent and separate kingdoms to maintain a single foreign policy and to prevent violent disagreements between two independent Parliaments At the Revolution the Scottish Parliament claimed the same rights and powers as the Parliament of England had just secured The King of England and Scotland might therefore be urged

or even compelled by the English Parliament to take steps obnoxious to Scotland and by the Scottish Parliament to sanction measures likely to be resented in England He might find that one of his Parliaments was eager for war with France while his other Parliament was determined to keep the peace Difficulties of this kind did actually arise both in William s reign and in Anne s

These questions were to become more important as time went on but meanwhile there was a much more pressing problem in Ireland James II had fled to France where he received a generous welcome from Louis XIV French policy was greatly embarrassed by the English Revolution The French king had resolved upon the conquest of Holland and the Emperor Leopold I and other German rulers had promised help to William of Orange and had formed the League of Augsburg to repress the ambition of France While James was on the English throne Louis knew that England would at least be neutral and he hoped that if James succeeded in his effort to govern as an absolute sovereign France might even receive assistance from England The accession of his great enemy William of Orange to the crowns of England and Scotland was therefore a severe blow to Louis and he was ready to help in any promising attempt to bring about the restoration of James

The best chance was in Ireland the great majority of the inhabitants of which were Roman Catholics and sympathized with a Roman Catholic sovereign There was an Irish Parliament (though its authority was by an Act passed in the reign of Henry VII limited to passing measures of which the English Parliament approved) but this Parliament had not met and William and Mary claimed the crown of Ireland simply on the ground that it belonged to the crown of England James had carried out in Ireland much more thoroughly than in England or in Scotland his policy of conferring high offices upon men of his own religion and when the Revolution took

place Roman Catholics were in authority in Ireland both in the civil government and in the army James therefore asked Louis to send him to Ireland to regain one of the three crowns he had lost and he landed there in the spring of 1689 the French king supplying him with a large quantity of arms and a small body of officers and soldiers to train the recruits he was sure to find in Ireland England at once declared war on France

The campaign of James in Ireland is memorable for two famous military events—the siege of Londonderry in 1689 and the Battle of the Boyne in the following year The province of Ulster contained a large number of English and Scottish settlers who had founded the prosperous city of Londonderry The first object of the Irish Jacobites was to capture Londonderry in which the Protestant population of Ulster had taken refuge as the Jacobite army advanced northwards The citizens were determined to resist to the uttermost they deposed the military governor when he proposed to surrender the town and by hard fighting they prevented its being taken by storm The enemy then blockaded the city to starve it into surrender and constructed a boom or barricade across the river Foyle to prevent English ships from bringing provisions by sea After months of terrible sufferings some English vessels on 28th July 1689 burst through the barricade and brought about the relief of Londonderry Meanwhile James had been holding a Roman Catholic Parliament in Dublin and the measures it passed intensified English ill will to Ireland William prepared to lead a large army to reduce the country to obedience He landed in June 1690 and on 1st July he completely defeated the Jacobites in the Battle of the Boyne fought near Drogheda Almost simultaneously the French fleet won a great naval victory over the English and the Dutch off Beachy Head and for some time England was in danger of a French invasion But the defeat at sea was not allowed to interfere with William's plans He entered Dublin in triumph and remained in Ireland until September James fled from the battle

field of the Boyne to his old refuge in France which he never again left

The conquest of Ireland was carried on by William's generals and it was not completed until the surrender of the town of Limerick in the autumn of 1691 Before the garrison surrendered William's representatives agreed to a treaty in accordance with which Irish Roman Catholics were to enjoy toleration Unfortunately the English Parliament in which religious feeling was very bitter refused to recognize this agreement and under English influence the Irish Parliament from which after 1692 Roman Catholics were excluded passed a long series of persecuting Acts Roman Catholics were forbidden to teach the young and Roman Catholic parents were not allowed to send their children abroad to be educated in their own faith No Roman Catholic might carry arms The legislation was made more severe in successive sessions of Parliament and in 1697 the whole of the Roman Catholic clergy were placed under sentence of banishment from Ireland This meant that they had to go about disguised and any one who gave them food or shelter might be severely punished There were similar penal laws in England but in England Roman Catholics were in a small minority while in Ireland they included the vast majority of the population

Civil war came to an end with the capture of Limerick but the war with France went on until 1697 The English defeat off Beachy Head in 1690 was redeemed two years later by a great naval victory in the Battle of La Hogue which gave England the command of the sea during the remainder of the war and removed the danger of invasion On land fortune was very variable and William never won the great victory which his people expected from him His great achievement was that in spite of this he prevented France from conquering Holland and becoming supreme in Europe Year after year the war went on and seemed to be no nearer its end At last it came to an end not because any

decisive battle had determined the fate of the combatants but because all of them were becoming exhausted by the struggle By the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) peace was made on terms which, though not ignominious for the French yet represented an abandonment of French ambitions

William's war saved Holland but it brought no direct or obvious advantage to England except a recognition of the new king's title to the throne by the Treaty of Ryswick Louis gave up officially any attempt to restore the Stewarts and thus admitted the right of the English people to decide their own form of government This recognition seemed a small result of a long war and during the course of the struggle William had been growing more and more unpopular The expenses of the war led to the foundation of the National Debt Instead of trying to pay the whole cost of the war out of taxation paid by the people at the time the Government borrowed money which they did not intend to repay at once and the loans thus raised became a permanent burden upon posterity In 1694 the merchants who subscribed money to a loan were formed into a corporation which became known as the Bank of England and ever since has been closely connected with the management of finance by the Government The fact that the cost of the war had not to be paid for at the time may have made the Government more extravagant and it certainly made the war less unpopular This was an important consideration for the Government because its opponents were complaining that the war was being conducted in the interests of Holland and not of this country

William himself was a silent man whose manner to strangers seemed reserved and even sulky He did not try to make English friends and lived chiefly with the Dutchmen whom he had brought with him He never felt that he could trust the English and indeed some of the leading Englishmen were in treacherous communication with James in France among them

was Lord Churchill who had been created Earl of Marlborough for his desertion of King James After the Revolution there grew up among the Tories a reaction in favour if not of James himself at all events of his infant son and heir and unscrupulous politicians both Whig and Tory, were trying to make themselves secure in the event of a Stewart restoration There were many who regarded themselves as having been insufficiently rewarded for supporting William and some of the extreme Whigs thought that like Cromwell forty years before he was assuming too great power One of the results of the king s unpopularity was the Triennial Act of 1694 which provided that no Parliament should be kept in being for more than three years without a General Election being held Its object was to prevent William if he found a Parliament which supported him from keeping it in existence for a long number of years and William was quite well aware that the Act was directed against himself Mary was much more popular than her husband but she died at Christmas 1694 and after that William had no intimate counsellor who was English by birth The Jacobites however did something to restore his popularity by a plot against him in 1696 for which a Tory member of Parliament Sir John Fenwick was executed

The peace with France did not last long for an event occurred which led Louis XIV to renew an old ambition for the aggrandizement of his country The King of Spain Charles II had long been in bad health and he had no male heir One of his sisters was the wife of Louis XIV and another had been the first wife of the Emperor Leopold I The Queen of France had on her marriage renounced any claim to the succession to the throne of Spain for herself and for her descendants and Philip IV the father of Charles II had by will declared that if his son Charles should leave no heir the Spanish crown should pass to the descendants of his younger daughter the empress and not to those of his elder daughter the Queen of France Louis however

denied the validity of his wife's renunciation and he was known to be aiming at securing the throne of Spain for one of his grandsons When it became apparent that Charles II of Spain had not long to live King William after making peace with France tried to bring about an agreement among the claimants in order to prevent the outbreak of a new European war on the death of the Spanish sovereign

It must be remembered that the King of Spain ruled over a much wider territory than Spain itself The Spanish dominions included a portion of the Netherlands now known as Belgium Naples Sicily and Milan in Italy and a vast colonial empire in central and southern America For reasons of trade and commerce England was not prepared to acquiesce in the succession of a French prince to the Spanish colonies and for reasons of safety Holland could not afford to see the Spanish Netherlands in the possession of the French William succeeded in 1698 in persuading France and the other Powers to agree to a division of the Spanish dominions By the first Partition Treaty by far the larger part of the domains of Charles II were to pass to a grandson of the empress This was Joseph Electoral Prince of Bavaria he was selected to be the founder of a new Spanish dynasty and to rule over Spain the Spanish Netherlands and the Spanish colonies The Archduke Charles of Austria a son of the emperor by another marriage was to have Milan and Philip a grandson of Louis XIV was to be consoled with Naples and Sicily The object of the treaty was to prevent Spain the Spanish Netherlands, and the Spanish colonies from passing under the rule either of France or of the Empire and thus upsetting the balance of power in Europe

Scarcely had the treaty been signed when Joseph died and William patiently set to work again to make a new agreement He was again successful and by the second Partition Treaty of 1700 France agreed that Philip should have Milan and that the rest of the

Spanish possessions should go to the Archduke Charles whose father the emperor had himself a claim to the succession This arrangement was much less satisfactory than the first treaty but it was the best that could be made It was however very unpopular in England and William had given his opponents a pretext for attacking him He had made the two treaties on his own responsibility without consulting his ministers and the Lord Chancellor Lord Somers had affixed the Great Seal to the first treaty without knowing what it contained a breach of ministerial duty for which he was afterwards impeached But the second Partition Treaty never came into operation for when Charles II died in November 1700 he left by will the whole of the Spanish possessions to Philip the grandson of Louis XIV The French king in spite of the treaty he had made a few months earlier accepted the will and announced that his grandson was King of Spain

The French breach of faith did not at once produce any widespread indignation in England and the Tories who were numerous in the House of Commons rejoiced at the defeat of William's policy The king's unpopularity is illustrated by some provisions of a very important Act of Parliament which was passed in 1701 At the Revolution the succession to the throne had been settled upon the children of William and Mary and then upon the Princess Anne and her children but William was a childless widower and the last of Anne's many children died in 1700 It was therefore necessary to make a new Act of Settlement of the throne Parliament chose the nearest Protestant heir the Electress Sophia of Hanover a granddaughter of James I and a daughter of the princess who had married the Elector Palatine (*cf* p 31) Sophia was an old lady but she had a son and a grandson and there was no reason to fear a failure of heirs of the House of Hanover England was to have another foreign sovereign and the Tories tried to secure that Anne's successor should not be allowed to do the things which they complained that

William had done They inserted in the Act provisions that no sovereign of the House of Hanover should leave the kingdom without consent of Parliament or employ foreigners as ministers and that England should not be involved in war in the interests of Hanover These sections of the Act amounted to a censure upon William for he was fond of residing in Holland he employed Dutchmen as advisers and as generals and his campaigns were represented as being undertaken in the interests of his native country

William accepted the insults and devoted himself to stirring up opposition to what amounted to the union of France and Spain Philip was not the heir to the French throne and the two crowns might never be united but it was certain that the young French prince would follow his grandfather's advice and that in a European war France would be able to count upon the support of Spain The English people were gradually realizing the extent of the menace both to the peace of Europe and to their own commerce when Louis XIV took a step which more than anything else determined them to support William's policy of war with France In September 1701 James II died Louis repudiating the Treaty of Ryswick acknowledged his son James as King of England Scotland and Ireland and this attempt of the French to dictate the choice of an English king made anti French feeling as vehement as it had been immediately after the Revolution William survived James only by a few months for he died in March 1702 but he had succeeded in forming a European combination known as the Grand Alliance to oppose the designs of France

There were two reasons for this In the first place the English people between 1702 and 1713 had—what they never had in the earlier war—a succession of great victories to console them for the expenditure incurred in the war From the first Marlborough was successful in Flanders and his great victories at Blenheim in 1704 at Ramillies in 1706 at Oudenarde in 1708 and at Malplaquet in 1709 raised the military reputation of the country higher than it had ever been The most dramatic of these victories was Blenheim by which Marlborough saved Austria from being overrun by the French The ruler of Austria was the Emperor Leopold I whose grandson the Archduke Charles was the English candidate for the throne of Spain If the French should succeed in capturing Vienna the emperor would be compelled to make peace and the European alliance which King William had built up would fall to pieces Marlborough who was fighting in the Netherlands deceived the French into the belief that he intended to invade France and leaving the Netherlands in the middle of May, he marched rapidly through Germany defeated the French and their allies the Bavarians at Blenheim on the banks of the Danube in August and saved Austria

At sea the English were not less successful The war began with the capture of a Spanish treasure-fleet in 1702 a feat which recalled the glories of the Elizabethan age In the year of Blenheim Sir George Rooke captured the famous Spanish fortress of Gibraltar which since then has been continuously held by this country and in 1708 the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean was taken by a fleet under Earl Stanhope The least successful fighting was in Spain An army was sent to help those of the Spaniards who refused to acknowledge Philip and supported the Archduke Charles It captured Barcelona the chief town of the province of Catalonia in 1705 and Madrid in 1706 but Madrid had almost immediately to be evacuated and in the following year the Duke of Berwick a natural son of James II ,

who commanded Philip's troops inflicted at Almanza the most serious defeat which an English army suffered in the course of the war The allies had some later successes in Spain but they failed to conquer the country for the archduke The only Spanish province which consistently supported him was Catalonia

It was not only the glamour of military glory that prevented the war from becoming thoroughly unpopular The growing rivalry of the two great political parties tended to produce the same result Anne's first Parliament had a large majority of Tories in the House of Commons but at first Whigs and Tories were alike in favour of the war and there were both Whigs and Tories in the ministry It had not yet become a rule that a ministry must consist solely of members of the party which possessed a majority in the Commons William had employed both Whigs and Tories and Anne began by adopting the same method But the accession of Anne who unlike her predecessor was devoted to the interests of the Church of England encouraged the Tories who were strong Anglicans and turned them into a Church party They brought forward measures against the Protestant Dissenters some of whom were contriving to hold office under the Crown by taking communion in the Church of England on a single occasion and thus complying with the Test Act The Tories wanted to enact that occasional conformity should not qualify a Dissenter for office and the Whigs who were strong in the House of Lords succeeded in throwing out an Occasional Conformity Bill in the Upper House in 1702

The Tories were also beginning to look with some favour upon Queen Anne's young brother, the Prince of Wales If he could have been induced to become a Protestant the whole Tory party would have supported him whereas the Whigs did not want a Stewart back whatever his religion A restoration even if the king was a Protestant would mean the return of the doctrine of the Divine Right and a reversal of what had been

done at the Revolution These differences of opinion drove Whig and Tory further and further apart and in 1704 the leading Tory in the ministry the Earl of Nottingham was forced to resign He left the conduct of affairs in the hands of Lord Godolphin who though he had begun life as a Tory had become a Whig In accordance with the Triennial Act of 1694 there was another General Election in 1705 and the electors influenced by the victory of Blenheim and the capture of Gibraltar returned a Whig majority The remaining Tories in the ministry were soon dismissed and the Whig party under Godolphin and the Earl of Sunderland remained in power until 1710 The Whigs who owed their victory to the successes of the war naturally approved of its continuance and their party principles led them to support a conflict with France the protector of the Pretender as the Prince of Wales was called After the Whigs fell from power they continued to oppose attempts to make peace and thus the war never became entirely unpopular because every loyal member of the Whig party was bound to defend it and to argue that its prolongation was in the interests of the country

During their tenure of power the Whigs brought about the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England The difficulties involved in the existence of two independent and powerful Parliaments under one sovereign who as a constitutional monarch was bound to accept the advice of both of her two Parliaments were growing insuperable The war was less popular among the Scottish than among the English commercial classes because Scottish merchants had special privileges in France dating from the old days of the Franco Scottish Alliance against England and in the course of the war the Scottish Parliament passed an Act to encourage the importation of French wines Not only did such differences of opinion create difficulties in the whole hearted adoption of one foreign policy by the ministers of Queen Anne they also threatened to create a very dangerous situation after her death The

Scots had not passed an Act of Settlement and it was still uncertain who would succeed to the Scottish crown upon her death

There was a strong Jacobite party in Scotland and though it was in a minority in the Scottish Parliament nobody could tell that it would still be in a minority when the queen died If the Scottish Jacobites in the excitement which must accompany an uncertain succession to a vacant throne should be able to procure the acknowledgment of the Pretender as King of Scots the English Jacobites would be greatly encouraged and strengthened and a civil war would be inevitable In order to solve both problems the immediate problem of securing consistency in the policy of the queen s two kingdoms and the future problem of securing the Hanoverian or Protestant succession after her death the Whig ministry resolved to bring about a union of England and Scotland

At the Revolution the Scottish Parliament had been eager for a union but in the course of the reign of William and in the first years of Anne the two kingdoms had been drifting apart William s popularity had been destroyed by two unfortunate incidents In 1692 a number of Highlanders the Macdonalds of Glencoe whose chief had been a few days too late in taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary were massacred under circumstances of revolting treachery and cruelty A body of soldiers were sent to pay what seemed to be a friendly visit and to murder those whose hospitality they had received The scheme was a device of William's Scottish ministers and England was in no way responsibl for it But William who may not have understood what it was intended to do in the name of his Government had given his assent to the plot and after the crime had been perpetrated he failed to punish its authors and Scottish indignation took the form of ill will not only to William but also towards England.

The other cause of embittered feeling was the result of a conflict between English and Scottish commercial

interests The Scots attempted to found a colony on the Isthmus of Darien and they obtained financial assistance from England The House of Commons instigated by English merchants who wished to repress Scottish rivalry in trade compelled the withdrawal of the English subscriptions The Scots persevered but their attempt to found a colony between North and South America roused the antagonism of Spain and William who was trying to keep the peace of Europe by the Partition Treaties withdrew the sanction which he had given to the colonization scheme The attempt to found a New Caledonia at Darien completely failed We now know that conditions of climate made the scheme hopeless in the state of medical knowledge in the end of the seventeenth century but the failure was ascribed in Scotland to the opposition of the English who had undoubtedly made the task of the Scots much more difficult So bitter was the feeling that in the early years of Anne's reign the Scottish Parliament threatened to dissolve the Union of the Crowns after her death and Daniel Defoe the author of *Robinson Crusoe* who had been sent to Edinburgh by the English ministers reported to them that there were only two alternatives —war or union

A union of the kingdoms meant that all the queen's subjects must be placed on equal terms as regards trade and commerce The English merchants who imagined that Scottish commerce could be successful only at the expense of England had insisted upon the application of the Navigation Laws to Scotland and Scottish trade with England itself was subject to restrictions and the Scots were treated like foreigners and forbidden to trade with the English colonies This jealousy of the English mercantile classes had wrecked some previous attempts at union and the Whig Government of Godolphin depended largely upon the support of the mercantile classes But Marlborough's victory at Blenheim had made the ministers strong enough to defy the prejudices of their own supporters and they

to pronounce a severe sentence Some time before this Queen Anne had had a quarrel with the Duchess of Marlborough who had been her intimate friend from girlhood and had influenced her in favour of the Whigs Marlborough himself was a Tory but his daughter was married to Lord Sunderland one of the Whig ministers and his chief political interest was the continuance of the war Anne found a new friend in the person of Mrs Masham, one of her ladies in waiting and under
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The fall of the Whigs was due partly to the personal influence of Queen Anne and partly to an ecclesiastical controversy The Tory party as we have seen had become a Church of England party and in the year 1709 there was a famous outburst of Anglican feeling A London clergyman named Henry Sacheverell preached a violent sermon directed against the Whig ministers and against the Whig doctrines of constitutional rule He was impeached for attacking the late happy Revolution and the Protestant succession and his trial produced an excitement in London comparable to that evoked by the trial of the seven bishops Sacheverell was found guilty but in view of the popular sympathy with him the House of Lords did not dare

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The Ministry of Harley and St John (who were soon raised to the peerage as Earl of Oxford and Viscount Bolingbroke respectively) lasted until Anne's death four years later They showed their gratitude to the Church of England by passing an Occasional Conformity Act (*cf* p 102) which was repealed in the next reign but the great achievement of the Tory ministry was the conclusion of peace with France in 1713 The victories of Marlborough had for some time made the French anxious to bring the war to an end and an important change in the European situation soon altered the attitude of Great Britain to the question of the succession to the throne of Spain By the death of his brother in 1711 the Archduke Charles had become the ruler of Austria and the other possessions of the House of Hapsburg and he also succeeded him in the dignity of Holy Roman Emperor The union of the Empire with Spain under the rule of one sovereign might easily prove to be as great a danger to European peace as the succession of a French prince to the Spanish crown Further France had suffered so much in the war that her strength was no longer what it was and her ambitious monarch Louis XIV was in extreme old age While

he lived he was likely to be able to dictate the policy of his grandson as King of Spain but it was by no means certain that after his death the rulers of France and Spain would be in complete agreement

The Tories had resolved to make peace before the Archduke Charles became the Emperor Charles VI and though his accession in 1711 gave them an argument which they found useful it was not the cause of their entering into negotiations with France The Whig ministers had refused French proposals of peace a year before they lost power and party spirit might be expected to prompt the Tories to reverse the policy of their predecessors They owed much to the queen's quarrel with the Duchess of Marlborough and they did not deem it safe to allow the Duke of Marlborough to gain more laurels and win victories that might bring fresh popularity to the Whigs who supported the war Marlborough was dismissed from his post as Captain General in 1711 The removal of the greatest of British soldiers while war was still in progress was the result of party spirit and of a personal quarrel between Oxford and Marlborough But dislike of Marlborough and a desire to reverse the policy of the Whigs were by no means the only reasons that impelled the Tories to make peace Many of them were Jacobites and they knew that the succession of the Pretender was impossible while he was the guest of a king who was at war with Great Britain Peace with France would not bring about a Stewart restoration but it might render a restoration possible

Negotiations were prolonged by various causes and Oxford and Bolingbroke used the services of a great writer Jonathan Swift afterwards famous as the author of *Gulliver's Travels* to influence opinion in favour of peace He wrote a pamphlet called *The Conduct of the Allies* in which he argued that the war was not being fought in the interests of this country and that Holland and the other members of the Grand Alliance were using Great Britain for their own purposes The tract

effected its purpose and created a widespread desire for peace The Ministry had an adequate majority in the House of Commons but the Whigs were predominant in the House of Lords and when at last a peace conference was about to be held in 1712 Oxford persuaded the queen to create twelve new peers in order to give them a majority to carry their proposed treaty By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) the French undertook to abandon the cause of the Pretender and on Anne's death to recognize the succession of the House of Hanover and the British acknowledged the grandson of Louis XIV as Philip V of Spain It was provided that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united and though by recognizing King Philip Great Britain gave up one of the original objects of the war events proved that no great risk had been run Unfortunately the Treaty of Utrecht gave no protection to those of the Spaniards who encouraged and helped by Great Britain had fought for the Archduke Charles

The Treaty of Utrecht made some important additions to the British overseas possessions Colonization had advanced rapidly under Charles II and James II and at the accession of Anne English colonies covered almost the whole of the eastern seaboard of North America In India English traders had made settlements which were to develop into the cities of Madras and Calcutta and Bombay had come as part of the dowry of the queen of Charles II and there were other English settlements in the West Indies Barbados and the Bahamas The island of Jamaica had been captured from the Spaniards and the island of St Helena from the Dutch in the time of the Commonwealth To this growing empire the Treaty of Utrecht added Newfoundland Nova Scotia and Hudson Bay in North America and the island of St Kitts in the West Indies to all of which Great Britain already possessed claims Spain surrendered Gibraltar and Minorca The agreements made at Utrecht included important commercial provisions some of which led to later disputes (*cf* p 119) The Whigs denounced

the Peace of Utrecht but its popularity was proved by rejoicings at the time and a few months later by the return of a fresh Tory majority to the House of Commons The war had been expensive but it had largely been financed by borrowing money and its gains were large The prestige of Great Britain victorious on land and sea was very high

Oxford and Bolingbroke were generally suspected of Jacobite sympathies and of disloyalty to the Protestant succession In the Treaty of Utrecht they had pledged France to support the succession of the House of Hanover Did this clause in the treaty represent their real intentions or was it inserted only to secure the passage of the treaty through Parliament and to conclude a peace which could be used to pave the way for the accession of Anne's half brother? No one can answer this question with certainty Queen Anne died on 1st August 1714 and just before she died Bolingbroke had quarrelled with Oxford and had brought about his dismissal He himself had some scheme which the queen's death a few days after the fall of Oxford prevented him from trying to carry out That scheme may have been a design to place King James on the throne instead of King George the eldest son of the Electress Sophia who had died a few weeks before Queen Anne But James had honestly stated that no worldly inducements would lead him to abandon the religion in which he had been brought up and Bolingbroke probably realized that while it would be possible—and might be easy—to restore a Protestant Stewart he could not count upon the support of even a majority of the Tory party in an effort to place a Roman Catholic upon the throne Whatever his schemes were the death of Queen Anne destroyed them and his importance for in accordance with the Act of Settlement George became at once and without any further parliamentary discussion the lawful king of Great Britain and Ireland His first exercise of his royal authority was the dismissal of the Tory ministry

George I (1714–27) was fifty four years old when he came to the throne and though he reigned over this country for thirteen years he never felt himself at home here His happiest days were spent in revisiting his electorate of Hanover and when he was at Hampton Court or St James s Palace he surrounded himself with Germans and lived in their society Though for eleven years before his accession he had been recognized as heir to the throne he had always refused to take the trouble of learning the English language and when he came here he made no effort to gain the affection of his new subjects He had come to the throne by a bargain with Parliament and the terms of the bargain were to be found in the Bill of Rights of 1689 and in the Act of Settlement of 1701 These terms he kept loyally Some of the sections of the Act of Settlement which had been inserted to annoy King William had already been modified and Parliament soon released George from the obligation of obtaining its consent before paying a visit to Hanover (*cf* p 99) Otherwise he honestly complied with the conditions upon which the House of Hanover had come to the throne and his ignorance of the English language was in some ways an advantage for it prevented him from interfering in domestic politics which he did not understand Foreign policy he did understand He had fought with distinction in European wars and as Elector of Hanover he had guided his electorate through sixteen eventful years He never actually involved Great Britain in any war in the interests of Hanover but he did use his position as a British king to further those interests

George was convinced that the Tories were all Jacobites at heart and he determined to employ only Whig ministers The country rallied to the support of the new sovereign for whereas a General Election in 1714 had produced a Tory majority a fresh General Election early in 1715 gave the Whigs a majority of 150 in the House of Commons In spite of the approval thus given, it was for some years uncertain whether the

Hanoverian succession and a constitutional monarchy were really safe The unpopularity of King George encouraged the English Jacobites disputes and difficulties which accompanied the changes involved in the union of the kingdoms gave an opportunity to the Jacobites in Scotland and the old French king was ready to break the obligation undertaken in the Treaty of Utrecht and to help an effort to restore the Stewarts

The Jacobites made their attempt in Scotland and in the north of England where alone Jacobitism was strong enough to induce its adherents to take up arms and risk life and fortune for the cause A successful rising in Scotland and in Lancashire with help from France might have brought into the field the southern Jacobites who toasted the King over the Water and prayed for King James instead of King George but they were not subjected to such a temptation The Scottish leader the Earl of Mar who had taken a prominent part in bringing about the Union had been Secretary of State for Scotland in Anne's last ministry and was seeking vengeance for his dismissal by King George He raised the Jacobite standard at Braemar in Aberdeenshire in August 1715 He was an incompetent general and the death of Louis XIV on 1st September brought about a change in French foreign policy and deprived the Jacobites of any chance of French help The first object of Mar's force was to obtain possession of Edinburgh but he delayed his march upon the capital and on 13th November he fought what is usually described as a drawn battle with Government troops under the Duke of Argyll at Sheriffmuir near Dunblane The Battle of Sheriffmuir though neither side won a victory on the field was really decisive because it stopped Mar's progress towards Edinburgh and he had to retreat to Perth On the same day a rising in Lancashire was defeated at Preston The unfortunate Pretender whose voyage from France had been delayed by the death of Louis XIV landed in Scotland in December when his cause was already hopeless and found that there was

nothing to be done except to escape with Mar to France

The Government was wise enough to take no very severe measures against the defeated Jacobites and aimed rather at preventing a recurrence of the rebellion than at taking vengeance upon the prisoners One of the steps taken for this purpose was the construction of roads in the Scottish Highlands and the establishment of garrisoned forts in the disaffected districts The indication of Jacobite strength was sufficiently alarming in spite of the defeat of the rising to make the Government afraid of the result of a General Election which by the Triennial Act of 1694 would have been held early in 1718 Parliament therefore passed in 1716 the Septennial Act which permitted it and succeeding Parliaments to be kept in being for seven years instead of three and this measure adopted because of a special danger in the beginning of the reign of George I remained the law of the land until 1911

# CHAPTER VII

## WALPOLE AND PITT

THE most important event of the reign of George I was the advent to power of Sir Robert Walpole a Norfolk squire who had held a minor post in Anne's Whig ministry and in 1712 had been expelled from the House of Commons by the Tories on a charge of corruption His brother in law Lord Townshend was the leading minister in the beginning of the reign of George I and through his influence Walpole was given high office in the Ministry But Townshend disagreed with the king on questions of foreign policy and in 1717 he and Walpole were dismissed and their places as the king's chief advisers were taken by the Earl of Sunderland one of Anne's Whig ministers and Lord Stanhope the conqueror of Minorca The fall of Townshend and Walpole was due to their desire to prevent the king from taking steps in the interests of Hanover which might bring about a war between Great Britain and Sweden then under a famous soldier Charles XII After their fall there actually were some hostilities with Sweden but by that time it had been proved that the Swedes were proposing in conjunction with Spain to assist a Jacobite invasion of Great Britain Charles XII was killed before the invasion took place and when it did take place in 1719 a small Spanish force was easily crushed The sacrifice of office by Townshend and Walpole therefore turned out to be unnecessary for the war with Sweden

and Spain was unquestionably in the interests of Great Britain—the maintenance of the Hanoverian succession But it illustrates the principle which was to guide Walpole's future policy—the maintenance of peace unless war could be proved to be necessary for the safety of the country

The new ministers found Walpole very formidable in opposition, and in 1720 they were glad to bring him into office again But Sunderland almost immediately was himself driven from power by the most famous financial crisis in our history When Oxford and Bolingbroke were raising loans for the Spanish Succession War they had received a tempting offer from a commercial company founded to trade in the South Seas—that is with South America The South Sea Company undertook the repayment of a large sum borrowed by the Government on condition that their vessels should be the only British vessels permitted to trade in the South Seas The monopoly was granted and the bargain was made and although the loan had not been repaid by 1720 the Stanhope Sunderland ministry made a new bargain with the company by which the company agreed to pay off the whole capital of the National Debt within twenty five years the Government only paying the annual interest on the debt This impossible bargain led to a boom or wild speculation in South Sea shares investors believing that the company possessed untold wealth gave large sums for shares A gambling mania was raging in Paris at the time and it spread to London and all sorts of ridiculous companies were formed each of which promised great riches to those who entrusted money to it Most of these bubble companies were frauds and the Government passed measures to prevent such frauds But it was soon discovered that the South Sea Company was itself a bubble company the directors had behaved dishonestly and some of the ministers had accepted bribes from them Sunderland was accused of corruption and had to resign and the death of Stanhope at the same time left Walpole the

most important member of the Government Early in 1721 he became First or Prime Minister

Walpole held office for twenty one years and in that long period there is little history to relate He was not a high souled statesman inspired by noble ideals but a good humoured practical man who succeeded in attaining the aim that he set before himself He was a Whig and what he cared most about in politics was the maintenance of the Revolution settlement and the destruction of the Jacobite sentiment which threatened its security He believed that the Jacobites would make one more effort and he set himself to give all classes of the community an interest in resisting such an attempt The Jacobites were in the habit of using the National Debt as an argument for restoring the Stewarts The wars of the reigns of William and Anne had raised the national indebtedness to £54 000 000 a very large sum for those days King James would refuse to acknowledge the debt which had been contracted in order to fight his French protector a number of London merchants would no doubt be ruined but that was only a reasonable penalty for lending money to a usurper and the nation would escape the taxation required for the interest on the debt and the repayment of the capital Walpole by his management of the debt destroyed the effectiveness of this argument It had been borrowed at various times and at various rates of interest Walpole repaid loans which had been borrowed at excessive interest and induced the middle classes to lend their savings to the Government at a fixed and reasonable rate of interest In this way the National Debt came to be owed not to a small number of rich merchants but to a large body of the king s subjects, belonging to various social classes who had thus an interest in defending the House of Hanover and in opposing a Stewart restoration and a repudiation of the debt

Walpole saw that the best way of reconciling his countrymen to the rule of an unpopular dynasty was to create a commercial prosperity so widespread that

nearly every section of the people would dread the disturbance which a revolution and a civil war could not fail to produce At the very beginning of his term of office he abolished a number of taxes which interfered with trade—export duties on goods sent out of this country and import duties upon raw materials required by British manufacturers These and other financial measures brought about a great increase in trade and in wealth and even men who professed to be Jacobites ceased to wish in their hearts for a revolution which would ruin their relatives and friends who were merchants or manufacturers One of Walpole's financial projects attained great notoriety because his opponents were able to employ it in a determined effort to bring about his fall There was a customs duty upon wine and tobacco and Walpole found that it yielded much less money than it ought to have done There was a great deal of smuggling and he proposed to reduce the loss to the revenue by ordering tobacco and wine brought to a British port to be taken into warehouses before being exposed for sale so that excise officers might value the goods and impose upon them an excise duty

The excise a tax upon certain goods produced in this country had been familiar since the days of the Long Parliament and Walpole when he introduced his Excise Bill in 1733 had no reason to suspect that a change from a customs duty to an excise duty for wine and tobacco would meet with any serious opposition Merchants in fact ought to have welcomed the change because a ship was often delayed in harbour until the customs officers were ready to attend to it and this kind of interruption to trade would cease under the new system But Walpole's opponents by the grossest misrepresentation of the object of the Bill created a popular alarm that food and clothing were to be taxed by excise officers who would have the right of entering houses when they pleased and inspecting everything in them The cry of

No excise, no slavery

aroused a public excitement so fierce that Walpole had to withdraw a very useful Bill

The growth of trade and commerce by which Wal
pole proposed to give contented subjects to the House
of Hanover depend led upon the preservation of peace
which the country had scarcely known since the out
break of the Civil War in 1642 In the early years of
his rule it was easy for him to keep the peace because
France desired good relations with Great Britain The
successor of Louis XIV was his great grandson, Louis
XV who came to the throne as a small boy If he
died the nearest heir would be Philip V of Spain but
the Treaty of Utrecht forbade a union of the crowns of
France and Spain and if the provisions of the treaty
were kept the French throne in the event of the death
of the boy king would pass to the regent the Duke of
Orleans The regent was therefore determined to re
main on good terms with Great Britain which was deeply
interested in maintaining the Treaty of Utrecht It had
been feared that the accession of a French prince to the
throne of Spain would be followed by an agreement
between France and Spain upon all great questions of
policy but owing to this question of the French suc
cession the immediate event was exactly contrary The
French regent afraid lest Philip V should be regarded
as the natural heir of Louis XV joined with Great
Britain and Holland in the Triple Alliance of 1717 and
with the Emperor in the Quadruple Alliance of 1718 to
prevent Spain from trying to recover some of the terri
tory which she lost by the Treaty of Utrecht The
Quadruple Alliance forced Spain to make peace in 1720
and though the Emperor Charles VI soon abandoned
the alliance and made a bargain with Spain Great
Britain and France remained on friendly terms But
Louis XV grew up and married and in 1729 a dauphin
was born There was then an heir to the throne and
France and Spain might ally with each other without
any regard to the succession to the French throne The
French people had not liked the idea of passing under
the rule of the King of Spain but that danger was over
and there was no reason why the Bourbon kings who

ruled France and Spain should not act together in their foreign policy

By that date Walpole had a new master George I died on a visit to Hanover in 1727 and was succeeded by his son George II (1727–60) The new king had been on very bad terms with his father and he hated his father's minister and tried to get rid of him But the politician whom he proposed to employ showed at once that he was quite unfit for the office and the queen Caroline of Anspach a very able woman persuaded her husband to retain Walpole's services George II could speak English but he had all his father's affection for Hanover and he did not hide his contempt for English ways and customs In Hanover he was an absolute ruler and he disliked the restraints placed upon the monarchy in Great Britain and Walpole had some difficulty in persuading him to accept his own policy of peace In 1733 France and Spain made the First Family Compact directed against Great Britain and the Empire and George wanted to join in a continental war in which the Emperor was fighting against France But Walpole persuaded Queen Caroline that a war with France would bring about a Jacobite rebellion and she restrained the king's military ardour and the great minister was able to boast in 1734 that there are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe and not one Englishman

When Caroline died in 1737 Walpole lost his best friend and supporter and two years later he was forced to make war much against his own better judgment It was a quarrel with Spain that put an end to the period of peace which Walpole's wisdom and courage had given to his country The dispute went back to the Peace of Utrecht which included an agreement known as the Asiento Treaty that Great Britain might send a ship once a year to trade with the Spanish colonies in South America and this agreement had been confirmed in later negotiations Trade with South America meant, among other things carrying a supply of negro slaves seized or

kidnapped in Africa for sale in the Spanish possessions and this kind of commerce infamous as we now regard it was very lucrative After their alliance with France in the First Family Compact the Spaniards hoped to escape from this obligation and they made things as difficult and disagreeable as possible for British traders and subjected British ships to a rigorous search in order to ensure that they were not exceeding their legal rights There were complaints of brutal ill usage of British sailors by the Spaniards and in 1738 the House of Commons appointed a committee to inquire into these complaints A sailor named Robert Jenkins gave evidence that seven years before the Spaniards had cut off his ear and he produced before the committee what he alleged to be the mutilated ear It is not certain whether Jenkins spoke the truth or not but he certainly told his story very well and some words that he used in describing how in the moment of his suffering he committed his soul to God and his cause to his country made a deep impression on his audience and the war party used the incident and the words to stir up a national demand for a conflict with Spain

Walpole had many enemies He had little to fear from the Tories who were under suspicion of Jacobitism and had no chance of coming into office The only prominent Tory among his opponents was Bolingbroke who had fled to France in 1714 and had been impeached and attainted in his absence but had been allowed to return in 1723 Walpole's foes were Whigs some of whom were jealous of his power and complained that he was creating a tyranny over the country The Whig party having no rival split into sections For many years a discontented Whig William Pulteney to whom Walpole had given no office carried on an agitation against him in a journal called *The Craftsman* in which Bolingbroke's bitter and clever pen denounced the ruffian malignity of the great minister Another discontented Whig whom Walpole had dismissed from office was Lord Carteret who knew a great deal about

foreign policy and was therefore a very dangerous opponent Pulteney and Carteret demanded war with Spain and they were supported by a brilliant young member of the House of Commons William Pitt who also had a personal grievance against Walpole because he had been deprived of his commission in the army for making a speech in which he had attacked the king Walpole actually succeeded in making an agreement with Spain which would have prevented an outbreak of war but the general feeling of the House of Commons supported by the City of London was against him and in 1739 he was forced to make war on Spain He was not a good war minister and after an initial victory the conduct of the war was not successful but he clung to office until he was defeated in the beginning of 1742

Walpole's long tenure of office had been maintained partly by royal confidence in him and partly by the ordinary political method of the time—bribing members of the House of Commons by pensions or sinecure offices His opponents denounced him for corruption but he was not more corrupt than most other ministers before and also for many years after his time He had done his duty by his country which had yet to discover how much it owed to the defeated minister His rule is associated with peace and prosperity but it also saw—though he had no connection with it—the rise of a great religious movement under John Wesley whose followers the Methodists did much both to deepen spiritual life and to purify social life in England In the history of the empire the period is marked by the foundation of the last of the old colonies in North America—Georgia It did not owe its existence to the religious conditions which had led to the establishment of most of the earlier American colonies for the Nonconformists in England were protected not only by the Toleration Act but also by a series of Indemnity Acts passed annually after 1727 to enable Nonconformists to hold office in spite of the Test

Act Georgia was founded in 1733 to encourage the emigration of men who could not find suitable work at home

On Walpole's fall Carteret and Pulteney who was created Earl of Bath both became members of the Ministry and Carteret soon became the most influential minister He had not long to wait for an extension of the war which soon ceased to be the war of Jenkins's ear Europe was already in a ferment about the division of the territories which had belonged to the Emperor Charles VI who died in 1740 and left his possessions to his daughter Maria Theresa She became Queen of Hungary and Archduchess of Austria but she is better known as the Empress Maria Theresa—her husband became the Emperor Francis I in 1745 Her cousin the wife of the Elector of Bavaria claimed the heritage as the daughter of an elder brother of Charles VI and the King of Prussia Frederick II seized the province of Silesia which had belonged to Austria Maria Theresa asked for British help and George II was very anxious to comply with her request His House had an ancient friendship with Austria and George apart from his wish to help Maria Theresa was much alarmed by a threat to Hanover France was attacking the Austrian Netherlands—that is the old Spanish Netherlands which had passed to Austria after the War of the Spanish Succession Not only was it the traditional policy of this country to oppose the annexation of this district by France but the attitude of the French constituted a special danger to Hanover about which George was very anxious Great Britain and France were still nominally at peace but a British army was sent to the Austrian Netherlands and at Dettingen in June 1743 it defeated a French army George II and one of his sons the Duke of Cumberland were present and took part in the fighting—the last occasion on which a sovereign of this country has been present in the field After the battle of Dettingen France and Spain entered into the Second Family Compact against Great Britain

but war with France was not actually declared until the beginning of 1744

Walpole had been right in predicting that the war with Spain would become part of a general European conflict and he was also right in foretelling that a war with France would bring about a new Jacobite rebellion He did not live to see the fulfilment of his prophecy but the failure of the attempt was due to his life work The essential weakness of the Rising of 1745 lay in the circumstance that it did not originate in any widespread feeling of discontent in Great Britain Political rivalry was very fierce and bitter and strong language had been used about Walpole and even about the royal family and this language probably misled the exiled Stewarts and the French court who were only too willing to believe that England and Scotland were longing to be delivered from the tyranny of a foreign sovereign There was no such feeling George II was not personally popular but his subjects were contented to live under the constitutional rule of the House of Hanover and had no desire for a civil war and a revolution The cause of the rebellion was the personal determination of the young Stewart prince Charles Edward, to make an effort to recover the throne which his grandfather had lost and his father thirty years earlier had failed to regain

The French promised help in an invasion of England in 1744 but a storm upset their plans and they did not consider the scheme sufficiently promising to renew their preparations When Prince Charles landed on the coast of Inverness shire in July 1745 he brought with him seven followers and a commission from his father to act as Prince Regent of the Kingdoms of England Scotland and Ireland He expected to be eagerly welcomed but he found that he had to persuade even the Highland chiefs to join him and some of the most important held aloof The fascination of his personality enabled him to collect a small army with which he achieved a remarkable but temporary success There

was a body of Government troops in Scotland under Sir John Cope but no serious attempt was made to stop the march of the Jacobite army upon Edinburgh Cope set out to attack the prince but did not feel himself strong enough for the purpose and marched north to Inverness Charles Edward entered Edinburgh on 17th September and four days later won a victory at Prestonpans in the neighbourhood of the capital over Cope who had returned by sea from Aberdeen to Dunbar At Edinburgh he suffered a second disappointment If many of the Highlanders had to be cajoled into joining him the Lowlanders were proof against the charm of his manner and the romance of his adventure He lived in his ancestors palace at Holyrood but in the midst of a hostile population

The initial success of the prince and his small band of Highlanders was due to the circumstance that there were scarcely any Government troops in the country The Duke of Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham who had succeeded Carteret as the leaders of the Ministry had decided that the best way of preventing a French invasion was to keep the French armies busy on the Continent They were so far right that there was no French invasion but they had not calculated on what might be accomplished by a small army of daring men The campaign on the Continent had not been successful for the Duke of Cumberland had been defeated at Fontenoy in May and the French had made considerable progress in the Netherlands Cumberland was recalled to take command at home and the prince waiting at Edinburgh for reinforcements which did not come gave time for the army to be transported to England Persuading himself that the English Jacobites would flock to his standard and that the French would support his advance by an invasion Charles marched into England and early in December he was at Derby He had attracted only a trivial number of English recruits and his small force was too weak to face an army which Cumberland had brought to Lichfield. His officers

compelled him to retreat and before Christmas he was again in Scotland Some of his men deserted but he was joined by Jacobites from Perthshire Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire and he undertook a siege of Stirling Castle, and defeated at Falkirk a small relieving force sent under General Hawley In spite of this last success Charles had to recognize that he could not spend the winter in the unfriendly Lowlands or await there the arrival of Cumberland s army Still hoping for French help he went north to Inverness shire where Cumber land crushed his small army at Culloden Moor on 16th April 1746 After a series of romantic escapes from his pursuers he made his way to France his unhappy followers were treated with merciless cruelty by Cumber land and with great severity by the Government The failure of his enterprise proved that Jacobitism was dead as a political force and the war against France might be continued without fear of internal rebellion

Of the war itself not much need be said The British efforts on the Continent were not successful and the ministers failed to realize that the real quarrel between Great Britain and France was not in Europe but in North America where the French Canadians by forti fying the island of Cape Breton were threatening the retention of Nova Scotia by the British and in India where the fall of the native empire of the Great Mogul had given the opportunity of extending European influ ence under one or other of the two rival trading com munities British and French The absorption of France in the European struggle which meant much more to her than to Great Britain ought to have been regarded as an opportunity for assisting the British in North America and in India in their local conflicts with the French but the traditional importance of a European war obscured the real interests of this country and the chance was missed In North America the colonists with naval help from home captured Cape Breton with its fortress of Louisbourg in 1745 but in the following year the French in India took the British settlement of Madras and when

peace was made by the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748 Cape Breton to the great indignation of the colonists was exchanged for Madras The treaty was a general European settlement but it was only in the nature of a truce for the French did not reap a reward adequate to the victories which their armies had won on the Continent and many questions remained to lead to another war The original quarrel between Great Britain and Spain was settled by the admission of British trading rights (which however were soon given up in return for a money payment) but nothing was said about the Spanish claim to a right of search—the claim that had produced the evidence about Jenkins s ear and had thus strengthened the advocates of war in 1739

The next war was not long in coming and some events of the eight years of European peace 1748–56 showed clearly where the real interests of Great Britain lay French and British colonists in North America and French and British trading companies in India continued their struggles although King George and King Louis were at peace with each other The British colonies in North America occupied nearly the whole of the eastern seaboard but if the French colony of Canada lying north and west of them could be extended southwards and if the French colony of Louisiana lying southwest of them could be extended northwards the British colonists would be enclosed between French territory and the sea and would be debarred from expansion into the vast unexplored interior of the American continent The French already had control of two of the great inland waterways the Mississippi and the St Lawrence although the mouth of the St Lawrence was covered by Nova Scotia and Newfoundland It remained for them to secure control of the Ohio a tributary of the Mississippi and in the years of peace they were building forts for this purpose The colonists of Virginia retorted by beginning to build a fort where the rivers Alleghany and Monongahela flowing from the region immediately south of the Canadian lakes unite to form the Ohio a point where

the great industrial city of Pittsburg stands to-day But the French drove them off and erected on the spot a stronghold called Fort Duquesne A force under General Braddock was sent from home to help the Virginians but Braddock was defeated near Fort Duquesne in 1755—the story is told in Thackeray's novel *The Virginians* The hostilities of the years of peace had gone far towards giving to the French the command of North America. In India the British had been more fortunate War broke out over the succession to the throne of a native ruler the Nawab of the Carnatic and a young English soldier Robert Clive by a brilliant feat of arms captured Arcot the capital of the Carnatic (in the Madras region of India) and held it successfully against the French in 1751 In the following year the French were defeated in an attempt to take Trichinopoly another town in the Carnatic

A struggle for an empire was to take place both in India and in America and the French would have been wise to maintain peace in Europe at almost any cost and to devote their energies to a colonial conflict with Great Britain But France was sore at her failure to secure the reward of her successes in the War of the Succession and was especially jealous of her former ally Prussia which had reaped the benefits of the victories The result was that Louis XV allied himself with Austria the old enemy of France an event known as the Diplomatic Revolution and Frederick II of Prussia made an agreement with George II Frederick was anxious about Silesia which he had wrested from Austria and George wanted a continental ally to help him to protect Hanover This arrangement known as the Treaty of Westminster (1756) was immediately followed by the outbreak of a European war in which France and Austria were ranged against Great Britain and Prussia The Treaty of Westminster was bitterly attacked by William Pitt who since he first attracted notice as an opponent of Walpole had become the most popular politician of the day In the course of the Jacobite Rising of 1745 Pelham and

Newcastle had proposed to bring Pitt into the Cabinet but the king was furious at the suggestion of promoting a man who had called Hanover "a despicable electorate" and the Ministry resigned George found himself unable to form another Ministry and Pelham and Newcastle came back without however including Pitt in the Cabinet He was given a minor office which his predecessors had found very lucrative but Pitt set the example of taking no reward beyond his official salary He was not a sufficiently important minister to influence the conduct of the war or to have a chance of putting into practice his theory that Great Britain should neglect the Continent and concentrate its energies upon the colonies Pelham had died in 1754 and Pitt had been dismissed by Newcastle in the following year and he was in opposition when the new war destined to be known as the Seven Years War broke out The Treaty of Westminster seemed to him to involve a repetition of what he believed to be the blunder made in the War of the Austrian Succession and he thundered against proposals to expend men and money upon the defence of Hanover

A disaster at the very beginning of hostilities gave him his opportunity The French besieged Minorca one of the gains of the Spanish Succession War a British fleet under Admiral John Byng failed to relieve it and it surrendered in June 1756 Newcastle made Byng the scapegoat and the admiral was tried by court martial and shot for neglect of duty in spite of Pitt's efforts to save him Pitt was invited to enter the Cabinet but he refused to serve under Newcastle an honest but incapable minister fussy and extraordinarily ignorant of geographical and other facts which it was his business to know Newcastle had to resign and Pitt formed a Ministry in November 1756 but was dismissed in the following April because the Duke of Cumberland refused to serve under him and George II and Frederick II wished Cumberland to command the army which was to defend Hanover There was an outburst of popular

indignation and in the end Pitt agreed to a compromise and entered a Cabinet of which Newcastle was the head When he became responsible for the conduct of the war which Newcastle left entirely to him he modified his views about Hanover Russia had joined France and Austria against Prussia and Pitt had to admit that Great Britain could not afford to see Prussia crushed The more fighting France had to do in Europe the less she could do in America and in India and if Prussia were compelled to make peace there would be no fighting for France to do in Europe The advent of Pitt to power did not therefore mean as George II had feared that Frederick II would be deserted and Hanover left to the mercies of a French army Pitt spent more money than ever upon the European war The difference between him and the ministers who had preceded him was that he did not allow the European war to absorb the fighting strength of the country to the neglect of India and America He insisted that he was conquering Canada on the plains of Germany but he did not forget that he could not conquer Canada without some fighting in Canada itself

The British effort on the Continent began badly for Cumberland was defeated in 1757 and had to make a humiliating agreement with the French which George II afterwards disowned but in the later years of the war British troops shared in some of the victories of Frederick II The French proposed to retaliate by an invasion of Ireland but any chance of success was destroyed by two British naval victories in 1759 Admiral Edward Boscawen defeated one French fleet in Lagos Bay off the Portuguese coast and Lord Hawke destroyed another in a brilliant action in Quiberon Bay an arm of the Bay of Biscay The attempted invasion which followed in 1760 was a very small affair and was easily dealt with by the navy

Meanwhile great events were happening elsewhere In India an initial disaster was gloriously redeemed The Nawab of Bengal Surajah Dowlah instigated by the

French made a surprise attack upon the trading settlement of the East India Company at Calcutta in June 1756 He captured the town and put one hundred and fifty prisoners into a small cell known as the Black Hole the soldiers name for a military prison Heat and thirst and lack of air produced indescribable suffering and in the morning there were only twenty three survivors When the tale of horror reached Madras Clive led an expedition to Calcutta defeated the nawab and captured a French fortified settlement at Chandernagore about twenty miles from Calcutta in the spring of 1757 The nawab made terms with the British but Clive discovered that he was plotting with the French and on 23rd June 1757 he attacked a great native force at Plassey and won the most celebrated of Indian battles Surajah Dowlah fled and was soon afterwards murdered and a new nawab was placed on the throne by British influence Plassey made the British the masters of Bengal but the French were still strong in the Carnatic on the other side of India A French force under the Comte de Lally the son of an exiled Irish Jacobite captured the British forts of Cuddalore and St David in 1758 and besieged Madras but a naval force sent by Pitt arrived early in 1759 in time to relieve the garrison Then followed some British victories and in August the French lost command of the sea in Indian waters and could look for no help from home Sir Eyre Coote captured the French town of Wandewash in the end of 1759 Lally besieged him and in 1760-61 Coote completely defeated him outside the town and afterwards captured Arcot, which had been restored to the French in 1748 and also Pondicherry the capital of French India From that date the British had no European rivals in India

In Canada things also went badly for the British at the beginning of the Seven Years War but in 1758 Fort Duquesne was taken and an expedition sent by Pitt captured Cape Breton Island. This victory prepared the way for an attack upon Quebec and Pitt

selected as the leader of a new expedition a distinguished soldier James Wolfe who had commanded a brigade at the capture of Louisbourg (the French fortress in Cape Breton Island) and had achieved the feat of landing his men on the shore in the face of a hostile force Quebec is a strong natural fortress and it was defended by a great French soldier the Marquis de Montcalm The British had the advantage of commanding the sea and the mouth of the St Lawrence River and Wolfe succeeded in deceiving Montcalm about the locality in which he had resolved to attack The place a steep wooded cliff traversed by a rough zigzag pathway was so difficult that Montcalm believed an assault in that region to be impossible and Wolfe encouraged this belief by making feints elsewhere On the morning of 13th September 1759 a British force surprised the French by appearing on the heights above the St Lawrence and marching across the Plains of Abraham to Quebec In the battle which followed both Wolfe and Montcalm were mortally wounded but Wolfe lived long enough to die contented in the knowledge that his victory was complete Quebec surrendered four days later and was held by the British against French attacks in the winter of 1759–60 Next spring a British force under Lord Amherst continued the conquest of Canada and the surrender of Montreal in September 1760 completed their task Only the southern colony of Louisiana was left to the French in North America

A month after the capitulation of Montreal George II died (25th October 1760) in his seventy seventh year—the only sovereign of England since the Norman Conquest who had attained the age of seventy His death brought about a great change in the conduct of the war The new sovereign was his grandson, George III (1760–1820) a son of Frederick Prince of Wales who had died in the old king s lifetime George III was only twenty-two years of age at his accession He had been born and educated in this country and English was his mother tongue Unlike the first two Georges he had no special

interest in or affection for Hanover 'I glory in the name of Britain' he said from the throne and the word gave offence to some of his audience who would have welcomed an assurance that the new king gloried in the name of England Britain was the legal title of the kingdom over which George III ruled but the Act of Union of 1707 had not brought it into general social usage in England and there was a special meaning in the king's employment of it He wanted to make it clear not only that he cared more about this country than about Hanover but also that he was prepared to give Scotsmen high places in the government of the United Kingdom Since the Rising of 1745 Scotsmen had been unpopular in London there was a widespread belief that all Scotsmen were Jacobites and the royal declaration would not in any circumstances have been sympathetically received in London at that date But there was a special reason for irritation at the expression which the king had used George and his mother the Princess of Wales were known to be under the influence of a Scottish nobleman the Earl of Bute who had been his tutor when he succeeded his father as Prince of Wales It was also known that George intended to play a larger part in the government of the country than his grandfather and great grandfather had done and it was feared that by the use of the word Britain he was indicating an intention of replacing Pitt by Bute The series of military victories had fostered a warlike spirit in the nation and for almost the only time in our history suggestions of a profitable peace which Bute was advocating were unpopular after four years of war

Bute was a Tory but the Tory party since 1746 had ceased to be Jacobite and its members were loyal subjects of the House of Hanover George III unlike George I and George II was not compelled to rely upon the Whigs alone His conception of the duty of a good king was to ignore party differences to employ the best ministers he could find and to use royal influence to make them agree upon a policy which would be neither

Whig nor Tory but national This ideal which he learned from a work by Bolingbroke called *The Patriot King* would have been impracticable even if George III had been the wisest of sovereigns for political conditions were developing in the direction of the definite establishment of party government George was never able to put his theory into practice and his initial attempt to do so was not likely to conciliate a general opinion which regarded the distinction between Whig and Tory as a matter of first importance for the government of the country Party divisions might be bad but who could rely upon the wisdom of a young and inexperienced monarch? If party government was to be abolished by the king's choice of the best ministers the sovereign and not the nation would have the decisive voice in the government and the House of Hanover would restore the absolutism of the House of Stewart Meanwhile nobody was prepared to accept the young king's belief that Bute was a better minister than Pitt

The Tory Bute was made a Secretary of State in the Whig Ministry of Newcastle and Pitt in March 1761 and difficulties at once arose Bute believed that Great Britain had obtained all the advantages that the war could bring and he wished to make peace Frederick II of Prussia had suffered a series of reverses and his affairs were in a desperate situation but Bute argued that Great Britain was strong enough to insist upon reasonable terms for her ally Then Pitt discovered that the French were trying to redeem their failure in the war with the help of Spain and that France and Spain had entered into the Third Family Compact against Great Britain He proposed to declare war before Spain was ready but Newcastle and Bute did not agree to this proposal and Pitt resigned in October There was a storm of public indignation against Bute which increased in vehemence when in January 1762 Spain declared war The Spaniards were of little use to the French and they lost some of their colonial possessions in the war so that this country

did not lose much by not taking Pitt's advice but it had been proved that Pitt was right and Bute wrong About the same time the fortunes of Frederick II were retrieved by the accession of the Czar Peter III who reversed the policy of his predecessor the Empress Elizabeth and not only deserted Austria but actually sent troops to fight for Prussia Bute held that this change in the European situation could be best used as an opportunity for Prussia to make peace on advantageous terms and when Frederick II insisted on continuing the war Bute stopped the subsidies which Great Britain had been paying to Prussia and resolved to make a separate peace

The old Duke of Newcastle differed from Bute about this and resigned office and it was Bute alone who was responsible for making in 1762 the agreements which were ratified in the Treaty of Paris in the spring of the following year By that treaty France surrendered Canada and Cape Breton retaining some fishing rights off the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St Lawrence and also the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon In the West Indies she gave up the islands of Grenada Tobago St Vincent and Dominica and in West Africa her settlement of Senegal The numerous other French possessions taken in the war were returned including Pondicherry and some other settlements in India but it was stipulated that the French in India should be restricted to trading stations and should not be permitted to construct military forts The single gain made by France at the expense of Britain the island of Minorca was restored to this country The Spanish colony of Florida became British and the British colonies thus included the whole of the Atlantic coast of North America France gave up to Spain her remaining American colony Louisiana The interests of Frederick II were so far protected that France undertook to restore all the Prussian territory which she had occupied and Prussia Austria and France made peace in the same year The Treaty of Paris was bitterly

attacked and it is true that Great Britain might have secured even more territory but there is much to be said for the moderation shown by Bute The real loss which the nation suffered in the first years of George III was the loss of the services of William Pitt

merely as an author printer or publisher in the warrant under which he was imprisoned His triumph was however spoiled by his having to fly the country when another charge not connected with the *North Briton* was brought against him and Grenville was delivered from the enemy whom he had inherited from Bute

He proceeded at once to make new enemies for himself most of them in a distant quarter of the globe The success of the war had not made it less expensive the country was poor and the ministers had to seek new sources of taxation Long ago it had been suggested to Walpole that he should tax the American colonies the defence of which cost a considerable sum of money and Walpole had declined to consider the suggestion the wisdom of this country he said would be to keep the colonies contented and to enjoy the benefits of trading with them Grenville took a different view In spite of the defeat of the French it was still necessary to maintain troops in America to protect the colonists against the native Indians who had been in alliance with the French and he asked the colonists if they would contribute a sum sufficient to meet this expenditure There were thirteen separate colonies each under its own government—New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island Connecticut New York New Jersey Pennsylvania Delaware Maryland Virginia North Carolina South Carolina and Georgia It would have been very difficult for thirteen different representative assemblies to agree about such a payment and the colonies did not intend to pay anything They held that the mother country was already making plenty out of them because they were not allowed to trade directly with any European country except Great Britain and were forbidden to compete with British manufacturers A Virginian for example might make hats and sell them in Virginia but he must not sell them in Georgia if the Georgians wanted to buy hats which were not of home manufacture they must buy them from Great Britain

The argument that the colonists were already making indirectly a handsome contribution to the wealth of Great Britain did not appeal to public opinion at home in the eighteenth century in the way in which it would appeal to us to day It was taken for granted that colonial trade must always be made to serve the interests of the mother country the colonies were plantations the main purpose of whose existence was to increase the trade of the nation that planted them, and of it alone Great Britain was more generous in its treatment of colonial trade than France or Spain Goods which the colonists imported from foreign countries passed through British ports but were not liable to customs duties and when they reached America the customs duties exacted by the British Government were often lighter than those which British subjects were paying at home Further Great Britain protected the valuable colonial trade in tobacco by forbidding the inhabitants of Great Britain either to grow tobacco for themselves or to import any tobacco which was not grown in the colonies There was thus something to be said on both sides though the northern colonies in America gained much less than the southern colonies did from trade with the motherland But what very few people realized was that the American colonies had outgrown the plantation stage of their development They were becoming rich and populous and the home Government had given them a large amount of independence for they managed their own affairs The old custom of controlling their trade and manufactures was felt in America to be an intolerable grievance or at least an intolerable nuisance while at home it seemed to be the natural and inevitable method of colonization

Grenville was therefore unaware of the magnitude of the issue which he was raising when he said that since the colonies would not of their own accord contribute to expenses incurred on their behalf they should be made to pay There had been a great deal of smuggling and the customs regulations were being constantly

evaded in America Grenville took steps to suppress smuggling while at the same time he increased the customs duties This alone would have produced great resentment in the colonies but customs duties were a familiar form of taxation and if nothing more had been done there would probably have been no violent resistance The colonists would have trusted to their own ingenuity in inventing new smuggling devices to meet the increased vigilance of the navy and the customs house officers Grenville gave them a much greater grievance by introducing a new form of taxation direct instead of indirect The Stamp Act of 1765 provided that all legal documents in the North American colonies should thenceforth bear a Government stamp for which a stamp duty was to be paid There were riots in Boston and in New York against the novelty of an internal tax which was regarded as much more tyrannical than customs duties upon imported goods and it was easy to defeat the purposes of the Stamp Act Legal documents were not stamped and public opinion forbade any colonist to deny the legality of unstamped documents

The agitation in the colonies found sympathizers at home and William Pitt declared in the House of Commons that he rejoiced to hear of American resistance Grenville's successor the Marquis of Rockingham repealed the Stamp Act in 1766 partly because of opposition to it at home, and partly because it was not only failing to produce an adequate revenue but was also bringing about a boycott of British goods The colonists would not import British manufactures and nobody could force them to do so Unfortunately the repeal of the Stamp Act was accompanied by one of the foolish measures by which politicians sometimes try to conceal their blunders A Declaratory Act (1766) asserted that the Parliament of Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies There were men in the colonies who had already made up their minds to try to shake off the British connection altogether and the Declaratory Act

government in Massachusetts from Boston to Salem and by closing the port of Boston and thus destroying its trade and the electors approved of his action by returning a Tory majority to the House of Commons in the same year (1774) Two famous statesmen Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox warned the country that the policy of the Government must lead to disaster but the only effect of their warnings was to make themselves unpopular

The measures taken against Boston were described in America as the Intolerable Acts and the colonists defeated the purpose of the Acts by taking care that the Boston merchants suffered as little as possible from the interference with their trade The Intolerable Acts created a grievance which united the colonists in the various colonies usually very jealous of each other and separated by religious and other differences The Puritan colonists found a fresh grievance in the most statesmanlike Act that Lord North ever passed In 1774 he secured the loyalty of Canada by the Quebec Act which gave religious toleration to the Canadian Roman Catholics and recognized their old laws and customs In their dealings with the thirteen American colonies George III (who took an active personal share in politics) and Lord North were wrong and were supported by public opinion but when they were right in their dealings with Canada public opinion was against them and there was great difficulty in carrying the Quebec Act through Parliament It gave Roman Catholics in Canada rights and privileges which they did not enjoy in this country and the strength of religious intolerance at home was shown a few years later A demand for the repeal of an Act passed in 1778 giving a moderate measure of relief to English Roman Catholics produced the Lord George Gordon riots of 1780 in which a so-called Protestant mob attempted to sack London and enjoyed three days of wanton destruction There was a similar spirit of intolerance in the Puritan colonies and the Quebec Act was resented not only for religious reasons but also

because it was feared that the boundaries assigned to Canada in the Act would interfere with the expansion of the older British colonies

The Quebec Act however would never have produced the rebellion of the colonies It was the result of the persistence of the mother country in exacting taxes and of the measures of vengeance taken against Boston and the Intolerable Acts at once brought about a very dangerous menace to British authority The weakness of the colonies lay in their entire separation from each other Each of the thirteen was independent of all the rest and carried on its own negotiations with the home Government and it seemed unlikely that the Puritans of New England the Roman Catholics of Maryland the Anglicans of Virginia and the Quakers of Pennsylvania would ever be able to act in unison But the Intolerable Acts were followed in 1774 by what the colonists described as a Continental Congress an assembly of delegates representing all the old colonies in the American continent to organize resistance to Great Britain They were not unanimous about their course of action Some of them wanted complete independence others hoped for a peaceful settlement with the mother country and there was a section of loyalists who were on the British side and continued to be so throughout the struggle

The colonists began to prepare for war and bands of them seized arms and ammunition left unprotected by the British troops The first fighting in the War of American Independence was in a skirmish in April 1775 at Lexington near Boston in which a detachment of British troops was defeated in an attempt to prevent some military stores from falling into the hands of the colonists who afterwards besieged Boston Reinforcements were sent from home and the town was held for a year in the course of which an attack by the colonists was repelled in the Battle of Bunker Hill (June 1775) The British Government was alarmed by the fighting power displayed by the rebels at Lexington and Bunker Hill and it further alienated colonial feeling by proposing

to give freedom to negro slaves who joined the British army and by hiring German soldiers to fight in America In the summer of 1776 a British army under General Howe was forced to evacuate Boston and encouraged by this success and embittered by the military measures just adopted the Continental Congress meeting at Philadelphia renounced the allegiance of the colonies to Great Britain and declared them to be free and independent states Two years before a Declaration of Independence would not have been accepted by all the colonies but in 1776 they were united and each of the thirteen adopted the declaration The loyalists were in a minority

The Americans had already found a great leader in George Washington who had been in command of their troops for a year and had driven the British from Boston But they were disappointed in receiving no help from Canada and in September 1776 General Howe captured New York The strength of the American cause was in the northern colonies and in the campaign of 1777 the British commanders Howe and Burgoyne attempted to isolate Massachusetts Their plans miscarried and a force of over five thousand men under General Burgoyne was forced to surrender at Saratoga in October The capture of Philadelphia by General Howe was inadequate compensation for this disaster because France eager to avenge the treaty of 1763 joined the Americans and Philadelphia had to be abandoned in 1778 in order to free troops to defend New York against a French attack From the date of the entrance of France into the war Great Britain could not hope for more than the retention of the southern colonies in which there was a strong loyalist element Spain in 1779 and Holland in 1780 followed the example of France and Russia Sweden Denmark Prussia and Austria formed a league known as the Armed Neutrality (1780) These nations were irritated by the regulations made by Great Britain to enforce a naval blockade and prevent supplies from reaching enemy countries and though they did not

declare war their neutrality was hostile and was intended to render more difficult the conduct of military operations

Great Britain had to fight in Europe where there was a siege of Gibraltar which lasted from 1779 to 1783 and in the West Indies where the French fleet attacked British possessions There was also much trouble in Ireland The Roman Catholics were still under tyrannical penal laws and Protestants and Roman Catholics alike suffered from trade restrictions imposed by the British Parliament Heavy export duties were levied on Irish woollen manufactures and goods imported into Ireland from the British colonies had to pay British customs duties in a British port before they could be landed in Ireland The secret societies which troubled the Government about 1778 were not confined to Roman Catholics there were the Hearts of Oak among the Scots of Ulster as well as the Whiteboys in the western and south western counties and the opposition of the Ulstermen to British rule was the result of interference with trade These indefensible restrictions had already driven many Ulstermen to America where they were among the most strenuous advocates of independence The agitation of the secret societies forced North to make some small concessions and the French war gave the movement a new importance A large body of Irish volunteers mostly Protestants took up arms for the defence of the country They did not threaten to raise a rebellion against the trade restrictions but North was alarmed by a display of armed strength and in 1779 he abolished the restrictions upon Irish trade This was followed in 1782 by the repeal of the legislation dating back to 1494 by which the Irish Parliament could not pass laws which had not been approved beforehand by the Government in London The Irish leader who obtained this concession was Henry Grattan a great orator and his eloquent appeals were enforced by the knowledge that the claim he made was supported by a hundred thousand armed Irish loyalists Grattan s Parliament

as the Irish Parliament was called after 1783 was composed each of [illegible]

Between 1778 and 1781 it seemed as if the British would succeed in retaining the colonies in America. The army had some important successes and in 1781 a British general, Lord Cornwallis occupied Virginia and concentrated his force in the peninsula of Yorktown in order to be ready to send reinforcements to New York, an attack upon which was expected. It would be comparatively easy for the Americans to close the neck of the peninsula and cut off his communications by land but he relied upon communications by sea. Those who were responsible for British naval strategy made a blunder which destroyed all chance of keeping any one of the thirteen colonies under the British Crown. There were [illegible] demands upon the British navy in many widely separated regions. It was taking a great part in a brilliant and successful defence of Gibraltar and it was fighting in the North Sea and in the West Indies. A wiser policy would have allowed the French or the Dutch to seize West Indian islands and would have made sure of the command of the sea in American waters. The navy on the American coast was not strong enough to meet the needs of the army. Cornwallis was shut up in the Yorktown peninsula by French and American troops, and at the same time a great French fleet watched the coast of the peninsula. Cornwallis had to surrender in October 1781 and the British cause in America was lost. The genius and perseverance of George Washington met its reward after a long and at times an apparently hopeless struggle. The European conflict continued.—Minorca was captured by the French in 1782, the British possessions in the West Indies were saved by a victory won by Lord Rodney off the Isle of Saints and the Spaniards made another determined but unsuccessful attempt to take Gibraltar.

The final disaster in the American war brought about the fall of Lord North's government in March 1782. He was succeeded first by Lord Rockingham who died a

few months later and then by Lord Shelburne and these two ministers made peace with the new nation to which the war had given birth The agreements made with the United States of America in 1782 were incorporated in a general European peace in 1783 By the Treaty of Versailles Great Britain acknowledged the absolute and entire independence of the United States There was a danger that future struggles might be provoked by disputes about the vast unoccupied lands lying to the west of the old colonies, but under the influence of Shelburne Great Britain made a generous agreement about the boundaries of British and American expansion there was plenty of territory for both Canada and the United States The blot upon the treaty was its failure to give protection to the considerable body of American loyalists who had supported the British cause throughout the war Their property was forfeited and most of them had to seek refuge in this country or in Canada where they formed a new settlement known as Upper Canada as distinguished from Lower Canada the French Canadian province of Quebec French intervention had done much to secure victory for the Americans but France herself gained little from her effort Spain recovered Minorca and Florida but the losses of the British Empire to European Powers were insignificant The secession of the thirteen colonies was so great a disaster that it is generally regarded as marking the end of the first British Empire A second British Empire was however already beginning to be built up for during the year of the American war Warren Hastings was extending British dominion in India and Captain James Cook was discovering new regions for British colonization in Australia and New Zealand

After 1783 the country was at peace for a brief period of ten years which witnessed some famous episodes in domestic politics Shelburne was defeated in February 1783 by the most extraordinary political combination in our annals Charles James Fox the Whig leader and the advocate of the American cause had spent years in

denouncing North as an infamous tyrant When North fell Fox had become a member of Rockingham s Ministry but he hated Shelburne and would not serve under him and he made an alliance with his old enemy The Tories who followed North and the Whigs who supported Fox formed a majority of the House of Commons and the Coalition Ministry of Fox and North came into office The king had been offended by North s resignation in 1782 and he could not forgive him for joining with the man who had been a foremost opponent of the American policy on which George and North bad been agreed The most successful of George III s interferences in politics was his use of royal influence to drive Fox and North from power The extension of British dominion in India had rendered it essential to limit the powers of the East India Company the trading company which had gradually become the rulers of a considerable portion of India Lord North in 1773 had passed a Regulating Act in accordance with which a Governor General of India was appointed with the approval of the Crown The first Governor General was Warren Hastings and his experience had proved that the Act required amend ment Fox introduced an India Bill which aroused vehement opposition by its interference with privileges enjoyed by the East India Company under a Charter granted long before by the Crown King George used all his influence with the peers to defeat the Bill and it was thrown out by the House of Lords

Fox and North had to resign in 1783 and the new Prime Minister was a youth not yet twenty five—William Pitt a younger son of the great Lord Chatham (who had died in 1778) Pitt had been Chancellor of the Ex chequer under Shelburne bot the House of Commons jeered at the young minister who had been bold enough to undertake the government although his followers were a minority of the House But the joke was on the other side when a General Election in 1784 gave Pitt a large majority and he held office until 1801 During the few years of peace he succeeded in making a con

siderable reduction in the National Debt and he also proposed to reform the constitution of the House of Commons by changing the antiquated electoral system and to abolish the abominable traffic in slaves Slavery was illegal in Great Britain itself but British merchants sent ships to kidnap African negroes and sell them as slaves in the British West Indian islands or in the United States Both of these proposals roused vigorous opposition and after the outbreak of the great French war Pitt did not take any further steps Immediately on coming into office he passed in 1784 an India Act which created a Board of Control the president of which exercised some of the functions of a modern Secretary of State for India The Directors of the East India Company however retained considerable administrative powers in addition to their trading privileges Questions relating to the government of India attracted much attention because of an attack upon Warren Hastings the first Governor General who had returned to England in 1784 after having made great improvements in the administrative system and increased British influence in a struggle with the Mahrattas Hastings had made many enemies in India and the influence of these enemies led to an impeachment by the House of Commons The trial began in 1788 and was not concluded until 1795 when Hastings was acquitted by the House of Lords

Great Britain had been at war from 1739 to 1748 from 1756 to 1763 and from 1776 to 1783 and was again to be at war almost continuously from 1793 to 1815 Wars are always costly and it was only because of a vast increase of the national resources that the vast expenditure of this long period of great wars became possible The name of the Industrial Revolution is given to the economic progress which changed this island from an agricultural into a manufacturing country, and populated the north of England and central Scotland with large industrial communities A beginning was made by the mechanical inventions of John Kay James Har

greaves Richard Arkwright and Samuel Crompton who between 1733 and 1779 entirely altered the conditions of the staple English industry the spinning of yarn and the weaving of cloth The introduction of machinery, and the use of water power to drive it involved the gradual abandonment of the system by which spinners and weavers had worked in their own cottages Mills were built and the workpeople instead of living in scattered villages were concentrated in the towns which grew up round the cotton mills Hitherto charcoal bad been used for smelting iron but in the beginning of the reign of George III it was discovered that coal was much more suitable for this purpose and this discovery brought about a vast development both in the iron industry and in coal mining A steam engine was employed in pumping mines and after the elementary form of steam-engine which had been known for many years was improved by James Watt steam began to supersede water as the form of power in mills and factories The increase alike in the manufacture of cotton linen and woollen goods and in the products of the coal and iron industries was a vast addition to the wealth of Great Britain and the country was able not only to finance wars but also to improve the means of communication and transport by the construction of canals and turnpike roads But while the manufacturers were creating fresh wealth for the nation they were at the same time creating a new social problem by their treatment of their workpeople The conditions of life in the new manufacturing towns were allowed to develop without regard to any consideration except the pecuniary advantage of the employer No attempt was made to provide adequate housing accommodation wages were too low the hours of work were too long and children were sent to work almost from their infancy The public conscience of the time was not yet awakened to the responsibility both of employers and of the nation at large for such conditions

# CHAPTER IX

## THE GREAT FRENCH WAR

In the first years of Pitt's Ministry Great Britain was reposing after five successive wars with France and a greater struggle than any of the five broke out at a time when at last it seemed as if a long period of peace might be expected In 1786 Pitt made a commercial treaty to increase trade between this country and France and it was hoped that old quarrels would be forgotten It is true that there were serious difficulties with France immediately after the commercial treaty was made but an alliance of Great Britain with Prussia and Holland was formed to keep the peace of Europe and the constant warfare in which France had been engaged for more than a century and a half had impoverished her to such an extent that the Government would have found it very difficult to find the means of conducting a new struggle But any hopes based upon the poverty of France were disappointed because poverty and the burden of taxation which pressed very heavily upon the lower classes produced the catastrophe of the great French Revolution and the Revolution led directly to war Pitt had made his commercial treaty with Louis XVI but in the summer of 1789 the absolute monarchy which had governed France under the Bourbon kings was suddenly destroyed by a popular outburst At first it seemed as if the object of the Revolution was merely to establish a constitutional

monarchy like that of Great Britain but before the end of the year Louis XVI was a prisoner The French queen Marie Antoinette was an Austrian princess and a sister of the Emperor Leopold II and Austria and Prussia threatened to intervene in French affairs in order to restore the power of the Crown The result was a war between revolutionary France and Austria and Prussia To the surprise of the whole of Europe the French revolutionary armies after some initial defeats won a succession of victories over both the Prussians and the Austrians and conquered the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) in 1792

At first the French Revolution evoked a large amount of sympathy in this country There was a general wish to see France governed by a constitutional monarchy and the fact that it was exactly a hundred years since the expulsion of the House of Stewart and the fall of absolute monarchy in Great Britain led men to think that history was about to repeat itself A section of British politicians went much further than this Since the early years of George III the Radicals as they were called had been attacking what are now admitted to have been the abuses of constitutional government as it existed in Great Britain in the eighteenth century The Revolution of 1689 had given Parliament the predominant power in the State but Parliament was an assembly which represented only a small fraction of the nation Demands for an extension of the parliamentary franchise were so reasonable that Pitt had admitted their justice and those who made these demands hoped that the French would not be content with imitating the example set by Great Britain in the preceding century but would establish a really democratic system Societies were formed to encourage revolutionary sentiments at home and these societies entered into friendly communications with the revolutionaries in France As the French Revolution degenerated into an orgy of bloodshed and especially after the beginning of the massacres which constituted what is known as the Reign

of Terror in Paris the activities of these societies roused widespread alarm at home Pitt and his supporters ceased to support parliamentary reform and became Tories and repressive measures were taken against the "Friends of the People as the revolutionary societies described themselves There was some cause for alarm for the French offered military support to any nation which deposed its sovereign but the atrocities in Paris shocked most of those who sympathized with the French There never was any real danger of a revolution at home the measures taken by the Government were unnecessarily severe, and accused persons were sometimes unjustly treated by judges and juries terrified by what was happening in France

Three years and a half elapsed between the beginning of the French Revolution and the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France Pitt was determined not to interfere in the domestic affairs of the French and he did not join Austria and Prussia when they made war on France But the French conquest of Belgium created a new situation for the French Government threatened Holland and the Dutch asked for help which Great Britain was pledged by treaty to give them The quarrel began about the great Belgian port of Antwerp The mouth of the river Scheldt which connects Antwerp with the sea is in Dutch territory and the Dutch had ruined the trade of Antwerp by closing the Scheldt to commerce partly in order to increase the importance of Amsterdam and partly for reasons connected with the defence of Holland against the Spaniards and the Austrians who had successively been the masters of Belgium It was one of the instances in which geographical conditions are the causes of wars The Belgians had a real grievance in the injury done to Antwerp by the Dutch regulations but the Dutch could reasonably argue that they would run a grave risk in allowing Spanish or Austrian ships to have access by the Scheldt into the interior of Holland Spain and Austria in turn in making treaties with the Dutch

had accepted the claim made by Holland to close the Scheldt but when the French conquered Belgium they refused to acknowledge treaties made when the country was the Austrian Netherlands and they forcibly opened the river to commerce This high handed action was intended to lead to a conquest of Holland the independence and security of which Great Britain was bound to protect by a treaty made as recently as 1788 Further a conquest of Belgium and Holland by France was no less dangerous in 1792 than it had been in the days of the War of the Spanish Succession

The French Republic declared war upon Great Britain in January 1793 and Pitt supported by a large parliamentary majority took up the challenge He was opposed by Charles James Fox and a section of the Whig party who accused him of allowing the country to be involved unnecessarily in a continental struggle but another section of the Whigs supported Pitt and Fox had only a small following The war thus begun was a European struggle against Republican France The allies of Great Britain were Austria Prussia Spain Portugal Sardinia and Holland and nobody believed that the struggle could be of long duration France fighting alone against the rest of Europe and distracted by royalist insurrections in several parts of the country was for a time in grave danger and she adopted an extreme measure Her opponents were employing professional soldiers who had enlisted from love of adventure or from pecuniary motives or had been 'pressed or compelled to take service Great Britain largely relied for continental warfare upon German troops hired from one or other of the rulers of the numerous German States France compelled all her young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty five to join her armies Adequate provision for their training was made by a great military administrator Lazare Carnot who earned for himself the title of "the organizer of victory Early in 1793 the French seemed to have lost the Austrian Netherlands Dunkirk was besieged

by a British army a British fleet was protecting th
port of Toulon which was in the possession of royalist
who defied the Republican Government a Prus n
force was threatening an invasion of France from th
Rhineland By the end of the year, Dunkirk had bee
relieved Toulon had been recovered and Austrian
and Prussians had suffered severe defeats which led
in 1794 to the restoration of French control ove
Belgium and its establishment in the Rhineland I
1795 French armies conquered Holland drove out th
House of Orange and created a Dutch or Batavia
Republic in dependence upon France Prussia an
Spain made peace

In three years of warfare the First Coalition ha
definitely and completely failed to beat France Gre
Britain had taken an active part in the struggle Sh
had sent armies to fight in the Netherlands had pa
lavishly for the services of German troops, and had tri
to give assistance to the royalists in France, but every
where without success The failure was partly due
the circumstance that Pitt did not concentrate th
energies of the country upon the great naval and
but sent expeditions to all the French, and after
institution of the Batavian Republic, Dutch, military
in various parts of the world Spanish and Dutch
achieved their purpose and the great naval and
Indian islands were conquered by British troops
But victories in the West Indies and the capture of
Dutch possessions in the Cape of Good Hope and
could not affect the course of the war in Europe
Conditions had changed a great deal since the
quered Canada or the war of the Austrian Succession
quarrel between France and Austria on the one hand
and in India, but the new alliance between the
younger Pitt was far more effective than the
French possessions were in the hands of anarchy The
one real British victory of the war was a naval
a naval victory won by Lord Howe on the
Channel on the 1st June 1794 (the Glorious 1st of June

when a French fleet engaged in convoying provisions into the harbour of Brest was destroyed

Still greater triumphs were in store for France While Great Britain in 1796 was occupied in capturing more islands in the West Indies a young French soldier Napoleon Bonaparte who had begun the greatest military career in history by distinguishing himself in the recapture of Toulon in 1793 was engaged in the conquest of Italy which he achieved in the following year In 1797 Austria made peace with the conqueror of Italy by the Treaty of Campo Formio and Portugal withdrew from the struggle Great Britain was left to continue the war alone The year 1797 was one of the most fateful in our history Not only did it witness the desertion of our remaining allies in the First Coalition it also brought a grave peril of invasion and the still greater peril of a mutiny in the fleet The British navy supreme at sea since the War of the Spanish Succession (except for one episode in the American War of Independence) was outnumbered by the combined fleets of France Holland and Spain all of which were at the disposal of the Directory which governed France from the end of 1795 to the end of 1799 The superiority of the enemy fleets was lessened by a victory gained in February 1797 by Admiral Jervis (Lord St Vincent) over a Spanish fleet in a battle fought off Cape St Vincent but if the French Spanish and Dutch fleets could unite they were still strong enough to be capable of obtaining the command of the sea without which an invasion was impracticable

The task of the British navy was to watch the fleets that lay in the Spanish harbour of Cadiz in the French harbour of Brest and off the coast of Holland and to bring any one of them to an action before it could join another That task was interrupted by mutinies that broke out at Spithead in April and at the Nore in May 1797 The British navy seemed to be no longer the protector of the island nation the mutineers refused to put to sea to meet the enemy and some of them

came on shore and committed outrages upon the popula tion Fortunately the Dutch fleet was not ready for an attack and still more fortunately a fear that the sympathy of British sailors was with the enemy proved to be groundless The mutinies were caused by real grievances they were soon suppressed and in October the Dutch fleet was destroyed by Admiral Duncan (Lord Camperdown) in a battle fought off Camperdown a village in the Netherlands The victory removed any immediate peril of invasion but great dangers remained and the financial situation after four years of a war which had proved to be very costly was so difficult that Pitt had been compelled to stop payments in gold and to make Bank of England notes the legal currency Sug gestions of peace which had been made in 1796 were renewed but the French were bent upon carrying out an invasion and they refused our terms For another year Great Britain continued the struggle without an ally

The Directory did not carry out its plan of an invasion for Napoleon Bonaparte insisted upon a great increase in French naval power before such a feat could be attempted and he himself saw a better chance of dealing a blow at Great Britain by destroying our prestige in India He began by French intrigues with Tippoo Sahib the ruler of the province of Mysore whose father Hyder Ali had been in similar relations with the French during the War of American Independence and had been defeated Tippoo Sahib did not at once attack British India He waited for an invasion of Egypt by Napoleon The invasion was successfully carried out but its results were slight The French fleet which protected Napo-leon s invading army was defeated and almost destroyed by the greatest sailor known to history—Horatio Nelson The Battle of the Nile fought in Aboukir Bay in August 1798 was in itself a brilliant naval exploit and it foiled Napoleon s great scheme of becoming master of the East for he could get no reinforcements from France while the victorious British navy commanded the Mediter

ranean He resolved to employ the forces which were with him in Egypt in the conquest of the Turkish province of Syria and thus to establish a base for French operations in the future Here again he was disappointed for another British admiral Sir Sidney Smith prevented him from capturing the town of Acre in 1799 and he had to return discomfited to Egypt whence he made his way back to France leaving his army behind him Tippoo Sahib deprived of any hope of French help was defeated by the British and was killed at the capture of the town of Seringapatam in 1799

When Napoleon reached France in the autumn of 1799 he found it easy to get rid of the Directory and he himself became the ruler of France with the *title of* First Consul The French people overlooked his one failure in the East and thought of him as the conqueror of Italy and they were impressed by the circumstance that when he left Italy the French hold upon the new conquest began to decrease Pitt in 1799 had persuaded Austria and Russia to join Great Britain in the Second Coalition and Austrian and Russian armies supported by the British navy had helped the Italian inhabitants of the Papal States and of Naples to throw off the French yoke The French expected the First Consul to restore their predominance in Italy and he did not disappoint them The Austrians defeated at Marengo in North Italy in June 1800 by Napoleon in person and at Hohenlinden in Bavaria in December by one of his lieutenants were compelled to submit to the terms demanded by the French in the Treaty of Luneville (1801) The Russians after a futile attempt upon Holland *in conjunction with the British in 1799* had not only made a separate peace but had formed with Sweden Denmark and Russia a second Armed Neutrality (1800) hostile to British interests

The Second Coalition had ignominiously failed and Great Britain stood alone not only against France but against Europe dominated by France The year 1801 was the last year of the first portion of the Great French

War and it saw two great British successes Pitt regarded the northern Powers who had formed the Armed Neutrality as enemies and a Danish refusal to admit British vessels into the Baltic Sea was the occasion of the Battle of Copenhagen or the Baltic the victory in which Nelson who was second in command put a telescope to his blind eye in order not to see a signal made by his chief to allow him to discontinue the action if he did not feel sure of success Just before the battle the Russian Emperor Paul who had deserted and betrayed his allies in the Second Coalition was murdered and the Armed Neutrality broke up The other British triumph was in Egypt where Sir Ralph Abercromby s victory over the French at Alexandria led to the surrender of the French forces in Egypt Both Great Britain and France were in need of a respite and peace was made by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 After nine years of war in which numerous conquests had been made in various regions of the globe Great Britain retained only two islands—Ceylon and Trinidad Much more serious than the failure to keep outlying possessions the capture of which had constantly diverted the energies of the country from the real struggle was the fact that the Treaty of Amiens left France almost as powerful as ever The Austrian Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine were admitted to be French territory Hol land and Switzerland known respectively as the Bata vian Republic and the Helvetian Republic were directly under French control as also were most of the Italian states some of which had also become republics on the French model Spain Prussia and Austria were afraid to offer any opposition The First Consul was the master of continental Europe and peace between France and the one country which had persistently opposed French domination over Europe was not likely to be long continued

When the Treaty of Amiens was made William Pitt was no longer Prime Minister He was compelled to resign in 1801 because of a serious disagreement with

George III about Irish policy The Irish Protestants were as a rule satisfied with Grattan's Parliament (*cf* p 145) but many of the Roman Catholic grievances remained and the French war offered an opportunity for an attempt to follow the example of the American colonies and make Ireland *independent of* Great Britain The founders of the society of United Irishmen formed for this purpose were two Irish Protestants who hoped to *unite the Protestant Nonconformists with the Roman* Catholics in the movement for separation but the agitation soon developed into a religious feud and in the early years of the war Ireland was disturbed by a series of outrages the guilt of which was shared by both sides It is however to the credit of the Protestant Irish Parliament that in 1793 it conferred the franchise upon Roman Catholics though no Catholic was allowed to sit in Parliament Then the United Irishmen asked help from France An unsuccessful attempt at invasion was made in 1796 and was followed by severe measures which produced a serious rebellion in 1798 There were risings in various parts of Ireland the most important of which was suppressed by General Lake in an action fought at Vinegar Hill near Wexford French help had been promised but it came too late and a small French force was easily defeated Pitt recognized that the Irish Roman Catholics had reason to complain of the intolerable injustice with which they were treated and that it was impossible to defend the subjection of the vast majority of the population to religious perse cution On the other hand religious antagonism had become so bitter that to give full political rights to Irish Catholics would have meant the extermination of the Protestant minority and the desertion of the loyalists who had supported the Government during the rebellion and the Protestant Irish Parliament would certainly have refused to pass any Bill for complete Catholic Emancipation

The only way out of the difficulty which Pitt saw was to unite Ireland with Great Britain and to abolish

the separate Irish Parliament It would then be possible to give full political rights to Irish Catholics because the English and Scottish members of the united Parliament could be trusted to protect the Irish Protestants against the vengeance of their fellow countrymen The proposal was not welcome in Ireland The Protestants might have approved of the scheme while their Irish Parliament was still under British supervision but since 1783 they had been in complete control of Irish legislation and they did not want to lose their power The Roman Catholics many of whom had been in arms for Irish independence could scarcely be expected to like the prospect of a closer union and of a united Parliament in which English and Scottish Protestants would be in a majority The decision for or against a union lay with the Irish Parliament and Pitt had to bribe the members to assent in 1800 to a Bill in accordance with which Ireland was to be represented by one hundred members of the House of Commons and twenty eight peers in the House of Lords The Act of Union came into force on 1st January 1801 and it remained for Pitt to fulfil his promise of giving political rights to Irish Roman Catholics and of making provision for the payment of the Roman priesthood in Ireland The king would not hear of the proposal and Pitt felt that he could not honourably remain in office without attempting to carry his scheme George III though in some respects an able man suffered from mental disease and was (not for the first time) showing signs of insanity A struggle in which his conscientious scruples were involved would have endangered his reason and Pitt preferred to resign rather than to enter upon a conflict with his sovereign It is probable that general opinion at that date would have supported the king rather than the minister whose own party was opposed to Catholic emancipation in Great Britain itself but if Pitt had got his way in 1801 the later history of Ireland would have been very much happier than it has actually been

Pitt's successor Henry Addington held office for three years but the great minister was recalled in 1804 to guide the country in time of war The Peace of Amiens had scarcely been signed when disputes broke out about its interpretation and Napoleon by publicly insulting the British ambassador in March 1803 showed that he intended to goad Great Britain into the declaration of war which followed The second stage of the Great French War lasted from May 1803 to April 1814 This country was at first the only enemy of France and the energies of the First Consul were directed towards the fulfilment of the old design of invasion He spent much time and money upon elaborate preparations and he succeeded in creating a widespread alarm in Great Britain traces of which are to be found in the literature of the time—for example in Wordsworth's sonnets and in Scott's novel *The Antiquary* For two years the dread of a French landing and the devices adopted to meet it were scarcely ever out of the minds of the inhabitants of the counties on the coast But the 400 000 volunteers who were in training for the defence of the country never had a chance of meeting a French army The attempt at invasion was not made A great French army the Army of England was assembled on the coast and a fleet of transports lay in the harbour of Boulogne Napoleon had made every arrangement had chosen the music to which his troops were to march on British soil and had struck a medal to distribute to the victors when they entered London But the British navy kept the narrow seas and watched the French and Spanish fleets in their harbours for Spain joined France in 1804 After many months of watching a French fleet at Toulon and a Spanish fleet at Cadiz eluded the vigilance of the British commanders but the success thus achieved was only the prelude to a final and complete failure *On 21st* October 1805 Lord Nelson defeated the navies of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar He lost his life in the action but his victory removed once and for all

the menace of a French invasion During the remaining years of war the British command of the sea enabled the Government to carry out its military plans without fear of interference from enemy fleets British commerce had still to face the dangers of attacks by French cruisers or armed merchantmen but the transport of British troops was never endangered

Napoleon who became Emperor of the French in 1804 had been chafing at his enforced inactivity The master of armies could not endure to see his splendid array idly wasted on the northern coast of France and in the summer before Trafalgar was fought he had realized that his destiny was not to lead him to London He had therefore taken a step intended to provoke a renewal of the continental warfare and to provide fresh opportunities of military glory and of the extension of French dominion In defiance of the Treaty of Luneville which he had made with Austria the Emperor of the French assumed the title of King of Italy in 1805 and Pitt succeeded in persuading Austria and Russia to form the Third Coalition It lasted only a few months Napoleon had not over estimated his powers and in the battles of Ulm fought in October and Austerlitz fought in December he crushed the Austrians They had joined the Coalition in August and before the year 1805 was over they accepted ignominious terms in the Treaty of Pressburg by which they recognized Napoleon as King of Italy and surrendered to him Venice which they had received from him in 1797 as compensation for the French annexation of the Austrian Netherlands Prussia suffered an even more ignominious fate in 1806 Napoleon provoked the Prussians into a declaration of war in October and within a few days the Prussian army was destroyed in the two battles of Auerstadt and Jena both of which were fought on 14th October The French Emperor occupied Berlin and dictated terms of peace

While Napoleon was pursuing his triumphant career in Europe Great Britain was mourning two of its great

est men The news of the disaster at Austerlitz found Pitt on his death bed worn out by labour and anxiety He died in January 1806 and he was followed to the grave in September by his great rival In the years immediately preceding the Treaty of Amiens Fox had admitted that while French policy was inspired by the ambitious military genius of Napoleon war could not be avoided and he had ceased to oppose it When Pitt died he took office in the new cabinet the Ministry of All the Talents and his experience as Foreign Secretary still further convinced him that Great Britain had no choice but to persevere in the struggle The Ministry of All the Talents was largely composed of Whigs and its brief tenure of office is memorable for an Act which prohibited British subjects from taking part in the slave trade It came to an end in March 1807 because of the king s opposition to his ministers policy on the question of allowing Roman Catholics to hold commissions in the army and the navy The Prime Minister Lord Grenville resigned and the Tories under the Duke of Portland undertook the responsibility of carrying on the war

The new ministers had to face a grave problem When Napoleon was in Berlin in 1806 he adopted a device intended to deal a deadly blow at British trade and thus to render his great enemy incapable of continuing the struggle By the Berlin Decrees which were afterwards strengthened by the Milan Decree he forbade the subjects of France or of any country in alliance with France to trade with Great Britain and ordered the confiscation of any ship belonging to a British subject When the Berlin Decrees were issued France dominated Spain Holland Prussia and Italy and Napoleon described his policy as the Continental System The whole continent of Europe was to join in starving the island Power In the summer of 1807 Russia again deserted her ally and made the Treaty of Tilsit with Napoleon and accepted the policy of the Berlin Decrees and after a short interval Austria was

compelled to observe them also Only Portugal and the Scandinavian countries remained outside the Continental System George Canning the British Foreign Secretary came to learn that by a secret clause of the Treaty of Tilsit Denmark and Sweden were to be forced to join the Continental System and though Great Britain was not at war with Denmark he sent an expedition to Copenhagen to seize the Danish fleet before the French could get hold of it (September 1807) The British Government replied to the Berlin and Milan Decrees by Orders in Council which forbade trade with any country belonging to the Continental System, and neutral vessels were in the unhappy position of being liable to confiscation by France if they traded with Great Britain and of being liable to confiscation by Great Britain if they traded with almost any other nation There were scarcely any European neutrals and the country which suffered from Napoleon s Decrees and the British Orders in Council was the United States of America The British command of the sea prevented Napoleon s purpose from being completely fulfilled but the Berlin Decrees seriously restricted our trade while at the same time they inflicted great hardship upon France and her allies

The Continental System ultimately led to two serious disasters for Napoleon Portugal the ancient ally of England refused to obey the Berlin Decrees and in 1807 the French conquered the country Spain had been the obedient vassal of France for some years but Napoleon spared neither friend nor foe and in 1808 he picked a quarrel with Spain and placed his own brother Joseph on the throne There were revolts against the French in both Spain and Portugal and British help was invited Since the victory of Trafalgar had relieved the British navy from its task of guarding our own coasts successive Cabinets had followed the old plan of attacking outlying possessions of France and her allies The Cape of Good Hope had been again taken from the Dutch in 1806 but most of the expeditions had ended in failure

and there was some hesitation about a fresh effort even though it was to be directed against the armies upon which Napoleon's power depended and not as before against places the capture of which could not affect the war in Europe. The effort was made and Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington) who had gained a great reputation in Indian wars was sent to Portugal where in August 1808 he won at Vimiero the first British victory over the French on land. Rejoicings over the victory were interrupted by the news that two senior generals who had been sent to supersede Wellesley in the chief command had made an agreement known as the Convention of Cintra by which the French evacuated Portugal. Most of the troops came home again but a small force under Sir John Moore was left to give help to the Spaniards. Napoleon himself had come to Spain and had captured Madrid which the Spaniards had been holding against the French and Moore's army was much too small to meet the Emperor's legions. He made an adventurous march through Spain to Corunna where British transports had been sent to wait his arrival. A French army arrived before he had time to embark and an action was fought in January 1809. Moore was mortally wounded in the fighting but his troops reached home in safety.

The expedition of 1808 had achieved two results neither of which could be expected to be permanent. The French had abandoned Portugal and Moore had been successful in stopping their progress in the south of Spain. The Government in spite of a general disappointment that so little had been effected resolved to try again and Wellesley was sent to Portugal with a new army. He found the French again in the country drove them out and followed them into Spain where he defeated them at Talavera in July 1809. Again high expectations were raised at home and the victorious general was raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington. But again there was a disappointment in store. The Spaniards gave much less help than had been

expected and French superiority in numbers was so great that Wellington had to retire into Portugal and spend many months in constructing a fortified camp known as the Lines of Torres Vedras, about twenty-five miles from Lisbon There he spent the winter of 1810–11 and many critics at home asserted that the whole thing was a blunder another of the fruitless expeditions in which men and money had been wasted But Wellington never lost heart and the Government trusted him and sent out reinforcements Their perseverance was rewarded by some successes in 1811 but it was not until the following year that Wellington entered upon the series of victories—Salamanca in 1812 Vittoria and the Pyrenees in 1813 and Toulouse in 1814—which drove the French armies out of Spain The Peninsular War was the great military contribution of Great Britain to the destruction of Napoleon s power and its success was an agreeable contrast to British efforts elsewhere for in 1809 an expedition despatched to capture the great port of Antwerp was an ignominious failure The six years struggle in the Peninsula was a steady drain upon Napoleon s resources and in the last two years he could ill spare to the Spanish conflict men who were urgently needed elsewhere

The Berlin Decrees which had led to the Peninsular War led also to a still greater French disaster While Wellington was striving against the difficulties of his early campaigns in Portugal and Spain Napoleon was making himself more and more the master of the Continent The Austrians made a slight effort against him in 1809 but in the following year they gave him an Austrian princess in marriage and the Corsican upstart was thus received into the royal circles of *Europe But the Russians were suffering from the* effects of the Continental System which deprived them of such imports as cotton goods and tea and coffee and sugar and the Czar Alexander I was alarmed by the control of the French over the whole of Germany By the summer of 1811 Napoleon knew that if he was

to enforce obedience to the Berlin Decrees he must add Russia to his long list of conquests He could not abandon his Continental System which not only was telling more heavily every year upon the resources of Great Britain but was also indirectly creating a cause of war between the United Kingdom and the United States for the States resented the policy of the British Orders in Council and their effect upon American trade Confident in his destiny and expecting that a conquest of Russia would enable him to renew his old schemes against the British in India he invaded Russia in 1812 A Russian army was defeated at Borodino and Napoleon entered Moscow But there his triumph ended The population had evacuated the city and while the French were in occupation a series of mysterious fires reduced it to ruins Napoleon could not lead his Grand Army into the interior of Russia and he brought only a tenth of it back with him to the west A retreat through the winter snows made without adequate provisions and harassed by the enemy destroyed the mighty force which had set out to conquer Russia

From that disaster Napoleon never recovered France could no longer supply him with recruits and the nations whom he had conquered were preparing to make another effort for freedom The year 1813 saw the formation of the Fourth Coalition (Great Britain Austria Prussia Russia and Sweden) and the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig He did not understand that he was beaten and he refused to make peace A few months later on 6th April 1814 he abdicated but not until the allies of the Fourth Coalition were in possession of Paris They placed upon the throne Louis XVIII a brother of the unfortunate Louis XVI and for a few months Europe was at peace with France The same year saw the end of a war between Great Britain and the United States After a long controversy about the effect of the Orders in Council the United States declared war in June 1812 The tragedy of the situation was that

before the news of the declaration reached this country Great Britain had given way upon the main points at issue The Prime Minister Spencer Perceval who had succeeded the Duke of Portland in 1809 had opposed any relaxation of the Orders in Council but he was assassinated in May 1812 and the Government, under a new Prime Minister Lord Liverpool, at once took steps to meet the wishes of America If telegraphic communication had been possible in 1812 a miserable conflict might have been avoided Errors were made on both sides in the course alike of the negotiations and of the war and the only satisfactory feature of the fighting on land was the loyalty of Canada At sea American cruisers succeeded in crippling British trade until they were vanquished by superior numbers The Treaty of Ghent (December 1814) between the United Kingdom and the United States made no attempt to settle the problems about the rights of neutrals which had been raised by the Orders in Council The Orders were withdrawn after the abdication of Napoleon and the matter was left there

Napoleon was given in 1814 the sovereignty of the small island of Elba whence he watched events on the Continent He knew that the well meaning Louis XVIII who had been placed on the throne by the victorious enemies of France was not popular with the French people and he knew that the allies were engaged in disputes over the settlement of Germany and Italy He believed that if he could get back again he would be welcomed and restored to his old position in France and that if he became emperor again he could induce some of the allies to espouse his cause On the 1st of March 1815 he was again on French soil and he found that he was justified in his expectation that the French would regard him as a worthier ruler than the elderly invalid who had just returned to France after many years of exile But he was wrong in thinking that he could divide the allies They forgot their disagreements in the conviction that there could never be peace in

Europe while Napoleon was Emperor of the French Great Britain and Prussia were the only two Powers which could meet him at once in the battlefield but Austria and Russia began to prepare

Napoleon was determined that the fighting should not be on French soil and when he had collected a splendid army of his veterans he led them into Belgium He was sure that he was going to win He had beaten the Prussians before he said and he could beat them again He had never met British troops on the field and he despised them "I tell you he said to one of his marshals who himself had been defeated by Wellington in Spain ' I tell you that Wellington is a bad general and that his army is a bad army He was so far right that he did beat the Prussians at the Battle of Ligny on 16th June 1815 but he did not beat them severely enough to prevent their fighting again Two days later when Wellington was getting the better of him in the stubborn fighting at Waterloo the Prussians whom he believed to be in full flight for Germany came up and turned his defeat into a rout From Waterloo he returned to Paris to ask for a new army to gain fresh victories for France He was met by a demand for a second abdication but he could not realize that his luck had failed him and he remained in or near Paris until the allied armies were approaching the city Then he fled hoping to escape by sea British cruisers were watching the coast he made up his mind that there was nothing to do but to surrender and in July he gave himself up to the captain of a British man of war The Hundred Days were over The allies sent him to the remote island of St Helena where he died a prisoner in 1821

The Treaty of Paris (1815) was a generous settlement as far as the treatment of France by Great Britain was concerned In the Congress of Vienna in which the Powers (including France) discussed terms of peace the British representatives prevented Austria and Prussia from revenging themselves by dismembering the king

dom of France and it was agreed that the boundaries of France should be what they were at the date of the Revolution Of the many French possessions which had been captured this country kept only the three islands of Mauritius Tobago and St Lucia A greater extension of the Empire was made at the expense of the Dutch whose possessions in Cape Colony and in what is now British Guiana (in South America) were retained under the British Crown In Europe Great Britain kept Malta and Heligoland the latter of which had been a Danish possession

The great difficulties of the settlement were in Germany and in Italy Germany was made into a Confederation which included thirty eight different states with Austria at its head There was much controversy over the boundaries of these states and the country which gained most from the treaty was Prussia which secured the Rhineland for itself Italy had for centuries been divided into a series of warring states but under the rule of Napoleon Italians had come to possess some desire for unity The Congress of Vienna had no sympathy with such feelings Austria had lost the Netherlands and it was decided to give her compensation in Italy Her former Italian possessions were restored and along with them the old Republic of Venice although the Venetians were known to dislike Austrian rule The States of the Church which Napoleon had confiscated were restored to the Pope and a branch of the Bourbon family which had long misgoverned Naples and Sicily were secured in their possessions The old royal houses returned to France Spain Portugal and Holland and Belgium was united with Holland in spite of religious and political differences which were to bring about a separation after the lapse of fifteen years

# CHAPTER X

## THE FIRST REFORM ACT

THE evil effects of a war never come to an end with the last battle Waterloo made Europe safe from the unscrupulous ambition of Napoleon but it could not undo the mischief wrought by twenty years of war All Europe was impoverished and not least Great Britain which though it had maintained smaller armies than the continental combatants had given large subsidies to allies and had engaged in distant and expensive expeditions The National Debt was vastly increased and financial mismanagement had made its burden unnecessarily heavy The Continental System had done great injury to trade but in some respects the coming of peace was even more disastrous because the nations which had been fighting began to manufacture and ceased to buy the British goods which they had obtained (often by smuggling) in spite of the Berlin Decrees There was much unemployment and food was dear The supply of corn in those days was produced at home and the misfortune of a poor harvest in 1816 made bread very scarce Returned soldiers found it difficult to obtain work and the first years of peace witnessed a series of riots in various parts of the kingdom The rioters in the country were foolish enough to burn corn stacks in farmyards in order to avenge themselves upon the farmers who charged high prices for grain and those in the towns were equally foolish in destroying the

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tution did not entitle it to this claim In England—and still more in Scotland—the voters in the counties were an inconsiderable fraction of the population and in most of the towns the franchise was enjoyed by an even smaller proportion of the citizens Some of the towns which returned members had ceased to be inhabited—the most familiar instance is the deserted town of Old Sarum near Salisbury which sent two representatives to the national council Many members of the Commons sat for these rotten boroughs and the total number of voters who returned such members to Parliament was insignificant The great manufacturing towns the growth of which was a result of the Industrial Revolution—for example Birmingham Manchester Leeds and Sheffield—were not represented at all It was very easy and very natural to denounce such a system and very hard to defend it but the Cabinet and its Tory supporters were convinced that any criticism of the existing system was proof of an intention to bring about a revolution on the French model Even the Whigs were for a time alarmed by the recollection of what had happened in France and in the last years of George III the agitation for parliamentary reform was the work of the Radicals Their most influential spokesman was William Cobbett whose *Weekly Political Register* convinced the discontented masses that the real remedy for their grievances was to be found not in attacks upon property but in a reform of the Constitution

George III who had been insane since 1810 died in 1820 and was succeeded by his son George IV (1820–30) who had been Prince Regent during his father's incapacity The whole of the reign of George IV and two years of the next reign had to pass before effect was given to the demand for parliamentary reform but the Tory ministry of Lord Liverpool which was in office from 1812 to 1827 made some beneficent changes in other respects and its foreign policy was wise and statesmanlike We have seen that it insisted upon a generous treatment of France in the peace treaty After the war

was over, the continental monarchs—Alexander I of Russia Francis I of Austria and Frederick William III of Prussia—set themselves to the task of strengthening monarchical institutions all over Europe and preventing any outbreak of revolutionary activity The Czar Alexander was a dreamer who believed that Christian kings would always deal with each other and with their peoples on Christian principles and he made with Prussia and Austria the Holy Alliance of 1815 the signatories of which bound themselves to govern in accordance with the rules of Christian morality Neither Francis nor Frederick William treated the Holy Alliance seriously and in the same year they took the more practical step of forming along with Great Britain and Russia a Quadruple Alliance to keep the peace of Europe The Quadruple Alliance was intended by Austria and Prussia to be a means of preventing subjects from rebelling against their rulers

The British Government would not accept this view of the duty of the Alliance The Spanish colonies in South America began to declare their independence and the British Foreign Secretary Lord Castlereagh refused to help Spain to subdue them and when success crowned their efforts his successor George Canning acknowledged them as independent states Some of the European Powers proposed to support Spain against the colonies and the American President James Monroe declared that the United States would not allow any European nation to intervene in the affairs of the American continent the Monroe Doctrine (1823) has been a rule of United States foreign policy ever since When the Spaniards at home revolted against their king, Ferdinand VII who had been restored after the Peninsular War Canning prevented the Quadruple Alliance from giving help to Ferdinand who however was replaced on the throne by French aid When the Greeks were fighting for their independence Canning intervened on their behalf and acknowledged them as an independent state Not less important nor less liberal in

its outlook was an agreement made with the United States in 1817 The boundary between Canada and the United States neither of which had yet entered upon the great expansion to the West consisted largely of a chain of great lakes in which each nation kept a small fleet and these fleets had taken part in the fighting in 1812–14 The British and American Governments the relations of which after the Treaty of Ghent were very cordial boldly agreed to give up the practice of maintaining armaments on the lakes As the respective frontiers have expanded westwards the rule has been observed that neither country should build forts and for over a century the boundary between Canada and the United States has been entirely undefended The result has been not merely to avoid expenditure upon armaments but to inspire a spirit of confidence and trust which has helped to create the long record of peaceful neighbourhood in North America

At home the Liverpool Cabinet while it missed many opportunities of progress and reform made a few important changes chiefly due to the energy of the Home Secretary Sir Robert Peel In the course of time Parliament had passed a large number of laws to repress various forms of crime and these laws had prescribed the penalty of death for offences like poaching and destroying trees as well as for more serious crimes such as theft and forgery A hundred years earlier public opinion had approved of these fierce statutes but by the beginning of the nineteenth century juries hesitated to find a verdict of Guilty which involved a sentence of death upon a man convicted of being found with a gun in a rabbit warren The severity of the penalties thus tended to defeat their own purpose and it also made offenders reckless about taking human life No harder punishment could be given for murder than for theft or for poaching and a thief or a poacher was therefore tempted to commit murder in the hope of evading capture Peel in 1823 abolished the death penalty for minor offences though thieves and forgers were still

liable to capital punishment for some years afterwards At the same time he secured a stricter observance of the law by instituting a police force—nicknamed 'Bobbies or Peelers after their founder—in London and the example of London was soon followed throughout the country Peel has also the credit of the most important concession made by Lord Liverpool and his colleagues to the special discontents of the period Pitt had passed, in 1798 and 1800 Acts forbidding workmen to combine in a trade union in order to raise the wages paid in the trade These Combination Acts were repealed by Peel in 1824 and 1825 and trade unions became legal provided that they used only lawful means to obtain higher wages or shorter hours and did not employ methods of intimidation

Meanwhile the agitation for parliamentary reform was making great progress in the country, and the Whigs had lost their fear of it and were becoming its most powerful supporters Nothing had been done when Lord Liverpool resigned in February 1827 His successor Canning was much disliked by the more rigid Tories and depended for power upon the Whigs but he died in the following August and the only important event of his brief premiership was a British intervention in conjunction with Russia and France on behalf of the Greeks which led in October to the destruction of the Turkish fleet by an allied naval force at the Battle of Navarino Canning was succeeded after a short interval, by the Duke of Wellington He was trusted by the more extreme Tories but he was compelled to do two of the things to which they most strongly objected The Test and Corporation Acts which prevented Nonconformists from holding office under the Crown were still the law of the land although the operation of the test had been evaded in practice ever since Sir Robert Walpole a century before had adopted the device of passing annually a measure which had the effect of relieving Protestant Dissenters from the penalties they incurred under Acts of the reign of Charles II Canning had

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not felt himself strong enough to propose to go further and repeal the Test Act but when Lord John Russell a future Whig Prime Minister moved a motion for repeal in the House of Commons he received so much support that Wellington and Peel accepted the proposal and the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was effected in 1828 to the indignation of the extreme Tories

They were still more indignant at the next important measure passed by their leaders There were other statutes besides the Test Act which forbade Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament and since Pitt had resigned office on this question in 1801 there had been a growing agitation for Catholic Emancipation Opinion had greatly changed since the days of the Quebec Act and the Gordon Riots (*cf* p 142) and not only the Whigs but also many moderate Tories were in favour of the abolition of the penal laws Wellington and Peel had consistently opposed the Catholic claims and their followers little expected that they would do what Canning in spite of his liberal sympathies had shrunk from proposing But a situation arose in Ireland which forced Wellington and Peel to change not their views but their policy The Irish voters predominantly Roman Catholic formed themselves under the leadership of Daniel O Connell into a Catholic Association which became so powerful as to create a menace of civil war No Government could have entered upon such a conflict because a large proportion of the people of England and Scotland believed that the demand of the Catholic Association for the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities was right and just In these circumstances Wellington and Peel though they took steps against the Association passed in 1829 a Roman Catholic Relief Act which made Roman Catholics free to take part in political life and eligible to hold office under the Crown The plea of necessity urged by the Tory ministers did not satisfy their followers who did not share their knowledge of the dangers involved in an obstinate refusal to

yield to the pressure of circumstances Thus the Tory party was weakened at the time when the crisis of the parliamentary reform agitation was about to arrive Those of the Tories who had supported Canning did not share the views of the extreme Tories and the extreme Tories believed that they had just been betrayed by their leaders Wellington and Peel had to lead a party which was both disunited and suspicious

George IV died in 1830 At the beginning of his reign he had been very unpopular because of his treatment of his wife Caroline of Brunswick They had separated soon after their marriage and he had treated her badly but she was so eccentric as to be scarcely accountable for her actions When her husband succeeded to the throne accusations were brought against her character, not for the first time and he refused to recognize her as queen A Bill for a divorce was introduced into the House of Lords and there was an investigation into the charges against her but popular sympathy was so strong in her favour that nothing was done Queen Caroline died in 1821 but the recollection of the scandal remained though George IV was received with acclamations when he visited Ireland in 1821 and Scotland in 1822—the first sovereign of the House of Hanover who saw two of the kingdoms under his rule In the end of his reign he was known to be opposed to Catholic relief and to parliamentary reform and his brother and successor William IV (1830–37), was welcomed because he was credited with sympathy for the cause of reform The expectations roused by William's accession were heightened by the news of the second French Revolution In July 1830 Charles X the successor of Louis XVIII was driven from the throne because of his ambition to rule as an absolute monarch and the new king of the French Louis Philippe described himself as a Citizen King reformed the French parliamentary system and avowed his intention of ruling as a constitutional sovereign If the French saw the need of a more democratic government surely

the British Parliament the Mother of Parliaments must abandon its indefensible constitution

The struggle for parliamentary reform in its closing stages created more widespread popular excitement than any other political movement in our history The Duke of Wellington who had repealed the Test Act and the penal laws in defiance of his own convictions and prejudices declared in the autumn of 1830 that nothing would induce him to yield on this still larger question and he so far misunderstood the feeling in the country as to assert that the nation was satisfied with the existing system of representation He was soon undeceived for within a fortnight the moderate Tories joined with the Whigs to defeat the Government in the House of Commons Wellington resigned and Earl Grey became Prime Minister A Whig himself he included moderate Tories in his Cabinet Even with the support of this section of the Tory party the new Ministry did not command a reliable majority and when a Reform *Bill* was introduced it went too far for some of Grey's moderate supporters The second reading was carried in the House of Commons but only by a majority of 1 Parliament was dissolved in the summer of 1831 and the opinion of the country was shown by the election of a new House of Commons in which there was a majority of 136 for the Bill The majority consisted of members elected by constituencies in which there was a large number of voters the small constituencies the rotten boroughs in England and most of the counties in Scotland naturally declared against a Bill intended to take away their exclusive privileges In spite of this majority the Reform Bill was not yet safe It passed the Commons by a large majority but it was rejected in the House of Lords The rejection was followed by riots all over the country and many observers believed revolution or civil war to be inevitable

Grey introduced a Third Reform Bill The Lords did not reject it but they proposed to amend it and Grey asked William IV to create fifty new peers and

thus to compel the House of Lords to grant the popular demand for the Bill the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill' The king was frightened and he tried to get Wellington to take office in the hope that the Lords would accept the Whig Bill if it was supported by a Tory Government Wellington was willing to make this final sacrifice of his own views but Peel refused to assist him and while this negotiation was in progress the excitement in the country became still more violent The king was believed to have betrayed the cause of reform and to be guilty of an intrigue to defeat the Bill In the end Grey withdrew the resignation which he had tendered and the king had accepted and William promised to create a number of peers sufficient to give its supporters a majority in the House of Lords But no single peer was created for Wellington persuaded the opponents of the Bill to abstain from voting and the first Reform Act was passed in June 1832

The measure thus carried after a long and memorable struggle disappointed many of the strongest advocates of parliamentary reform But it did one great thing it secured that every man who sat in the House of Commons should be sent there by a considerable body of electors The greatest defect of the old system had been that so many members of the House had been returned by a few individuals who alone possessed the right of voting This abuse was entirely swept away no member after 1832 was returned by a body of seven or eight voters There were no more sham constituencies The rotten boroughs in England were disfranchised and the electorate in English Scottish and Irish boroughs and counties alike was greatly increased But the Act did not extend the vote so widely as its Radical supporters had hoped that it would In the boroughs the right of voting was restricted to men who occupied or owned houses the rent of which was not less than £10 a year and in the counties where only owners of land had previously enjoyed the franchise tenants were given a vote if they paid a certain sum as annual rent for the

lands which they occupied All this made a great change and the seats which were taken from the rotten boroughs were given to the new industrial towns but the more thoroughgoing advocates of reform regarded the pecuniary qualification demanded both in the towns and in the counties as too high We must remember that the Reform Act was passed by the old unreformed Parliament It was a great step for the members of the old Parliament to take and we can understand that they were not likely to support any proposal that seemed to them rash or dangerous They shared their privileges with the lower middle class but they were not prepared to share them with the labouring classes The extension of the franchise continued to be one of the ambitions of the Reform party though many years had to elapse before it was realized

There was a General Election immediately after the Act was passed the new electors returned a Whig majority to the House of Commons and a Whig Government first under Lord Grey and then under Lord Melbourne governed the country (except for a short interval) from 1832 to 1839 In the earlier portion of that period Parliament was a new broom and it swept away many abuses In 1832 there were still slaves in the West Indian colonies and the first great thing done by the reformed Parliament was to put an end to slavery in the Empire The slave trade as we have seen had been prohibited for some years and a British subject who kidnapped negroes and sold them as slaves was liable to capital punishment But the labourers on the sugar plantations in the West Indies were still slaves and their children were from birth the property of their masters In 1823 an Anti Slavery Society came into existence under the leadership of Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce and this society roused the public conscience to the evils of slavery In 1833 Parliament passed the Emancipation Act which freed the slaves and gave compensation to their owners from the public purse But there were

abuses at home as well as in the colonies for the factory system had brought about a cruel and terrible treatment of children It is to the credit of the old Parliament that it had made an effort to check this abuse and in 1825 had forbidden the owners of cotton mills to keep children under the age of sixteen at work for more than twelve hours a day The new Parliament did less than it might have done to improve conditions in which children were forced to work for twelve hours a day but in 1833 it forbade the employment of a child under nine years of age in a factory The cause of the children was advocated by a young nobleman Lord Ashley afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury who was afterwards to bring about a far greater reform in the factory system

The new Parliament also put an end to a custom by which employers of labour and especially farmers used to pay their labourers wages so small that the Overseers of the Poor had to give them what was called out door relief that is a weekly allowance to enable them to live and to bring up their families It was called out door relief because it was given to persons who were not in the workhouse By the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) such grants ceased to be made to able bodied men and women and the employers had to raise the scale of wages Able bodied persons who could or would not find work could get relief only in the workhouses Another of the great reforms made by Parliament in these years was the reorganization of the town councils of boroughs The councils were not as a rule elected by the citizens of the towns but were composed of small cliques of persons who by one means or another practically elected each other There had been many scandalous instances of the mismanagement of borough affairs and the financial administration was often corrupt and dishonest The Municipal Reform Act of 1835 provided that town councils should be elected by the ratepayers of the town and thus entrusted to the citizens the duty of securing that the town should be governed efficiently and honestly

The political interest of the reign of William IV lies in these domestic reforms In foreign affairs Great Britain guided by Lord Palmerston who was Foreign Minister in Lord Grey s Cabinet played an important part in the settlement of a dispute between the Belgians and the Dutch Belgium and Holland had long ago formed the Spanish Netherlands and after the Dutch had thrown off the Spanish yoke and constituted themselves a republic the Belgians had continued to be Spanish subjects until the Treaty of Utrecht when Belgium became the Austrian Netherlands Both Holland and Belgium were under French rule in the Napoleonic era and in 1815 they were united into one kingdom under a Dutch royal house But religious and other differences made the arrangement very unpopular in Belgium and in 1830 the Belgians demanded independence Their claim was supported by the new French king Louis Philippe and by Great Britain and Belgium became in 1831–32 a separate kingdom So many European wars had been fought on Belgian soil and the country was of so great importance from a military point of view that there was a danger in its becoming a small kingdom which could not defend itself against its great neighbours in France and Germany The French might be tempted to seize Belgium or to obtain control over it by peaceful means in order to use the country as a vantage ground for an attack upon the Prussian territory in the Rhineland or the Prussians might adopt a similar device in order to make war upon France To prevent any such attempt and in the hope of preserving European peace Great Britain France Prussia Austria and Russia all joined in a solemn guarantee to protect Belgium as a neutral country The new kingdom was never to take part in a European war and the Great Powers were pledged to prevent any army from entering Belgian territory

The short reign of William IV is also memorable for the rise of the system of railways which soon superseded the older method of travelling by mail-coaches and by

canals The first railway line in the United Kingdom, from Stockton to Darlington had been opened in 1825, but the rapid development of railways came after the opening of the line from Liverpool to Manchester in 1830 Steam power had been employed for communi cation by sea before the battle of Waterloo and there was also a great development in this direction in the 'thirties In 1838 the year after the king s death, a steamer the *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic by steam power alone and without the use of sails which the earlier steamers had continued to employ The time taken on the passage from Bristol to New York was four-teen days

# CHAPTER XI

## *THE VICTORIAN AGE—I*

When William IV died in June 1837 he was succeeded by his niece Queen Victoria (1837–1901) She did not inherit all of his dominions for the kingdom of Hanover in accordance with its own laws passed to the nearest male heir an uncle of the young queen The possession of Hanover by the sovereign of Great Britain from 1714 to 1837 had frequently proved to be an embarrassment to British policy and it would have been a greater embarrassment than ever in the reign of Victoria Prussia was becoming the dominant power in Germany and if Hanover had remained a possession of the British Crown a difficult and dangerous situation would have arisen in the years during which the great Prussian minister Otto von Bismarck was preparing the way for the union of the states of North Germany into a German Empire under the control of Prussia Hanover which had been raised from an electorate to a kingdom in 1816 enjoyed its new dignity only for half a century In 1866 it was annexed by Prussia and it is still part of the Prussian state

The foreign policy of the early years of the reign was sufficiently difficult without the complication which Hanover would have involved The problems which the young queen's ministers had to face were chiefly connected with Eastern Europe A Turkish general Mehemet Ali had revolted against Turkey and the

Powers of Europe intervened to support the Sultan Great Britain was especially interested in preventing Mehemet Ali from creating a great Arab state which might have endangered her Indian possessions, and in 1840 a naval expedition in which British Austrian, and Turkish fleets took part, captured the fortress of Acre and compelled Mehemet Ali to abandon the Turkish province of Syria which he had seized The attitude of France on this question differed from that of the other Powers of Europe and British relations with France were strained in the years 1839 41 and also in the years 1846-47, when Louis Philippe who followed an ambitious foreign policy was regarded as having behaved dishonestly to this country in connection with the negotiations for the marriage of a young queen who had succeeded to the throne of Spain But the difficulties did not last long for there was a third French Revolution in 1848 and Louis Philippe was dethroned and had to seek refuge in England

France again became a republic but the President of the Republic was Louis Napoleon a nephew of the great Emperor and he set himself to secure a restoration of the Empire By intrigue and also by methods of violence he attained his end and in 1852 he became the Emperor Napoleon III Queen Victoria unlike some of the other European monarchs acknowledged his new dignity at once and the two countries became friendly Both the British and the French Governments were alarmed by the policy of Russia The Czar was believed to be aiming at the destruction of Turkey and the seizure of Constantinople and neither Britain nor France was willing to see Russia in possession of Constantinople Britain feared for the safety of India and France was determined that Russia should not become a power in the Mediterranean Sea War broke out between Russia and Turkey in 1853 and the British and French Governments joined in sending a fleet to Constantinople to prevent the dismemberment of Turkey Russia did not want war with Great Britain and France and a conflict might easily

e been avoided The British Prime Minister the
l of Aberdeen was personally anxious to maintain
ce but there was a war spirit in the country and a
espread distrust of Russia Napoleon III was eager
a war in which he might revive the military glory of
first Empire and after a long series of negotiations
at Britain and France asserted that a great Russian
ress named Sebastopol on the peninsula of Crimea
he Black Sea constituted a menace to Turkey and
British and French interests and the Crimean War
fought for the destruction of Sebastopol
rench and British armies were sent to the Crimea in
ember 1854 and Sebastopol was taken a year later
eptember 1855 Battles were fought on the river
a at Balaclava and at Inkerman in 1854 and the
le of Balaclava was memorable for the gallant
uct of the Light Brigade of British cavalry A
of about six hundred men received a wrong order
in obeying it charged a great Russian battery
g more than half their number The exploit of the
t Brigade stirred the imagination of a generation
h had known a long period of peace but though
Alma Balaclava and Inkerman were victories for
Allies and especially for the British—the French
not engaged either at Balaclava or at Inkerman—
iege of Sebastopol continued for many months and
orrors of war were increased by a mismanagement
a deprived British soldiers of proper food and clothes
lations of what was happening in the Crimea brought
t the fall of the Aberdeen Cabinet but it was not
y to put an end to the muddle in the Crimea The
edeeming feature was the work done by Florence
ingale who reformed the hospital system and was
reator of the great profession of nursing After the
Sebastopol the Russians made peace abandoning
claim to Turkish territory and promising not to
d the fortress The Turks were made to promise
prove their treatment of their Christian subjects
misgovernment of whom had been one of the

causes of the Russian attack upon them Neither the Russians nor the Turks kept these promises and the Crimean War had no important results except that for a time it diminished Russian and increased French influence in Europe

The Crimean War was followed by four European struggles in which this country took no part The Italians were fighting to expel the Austrians from the Italian territory which had been given to Austria in 1815 and in 1859 they received help from France but Great Britain though sympathetic gave no military assistance The conflict for the union of the various Italian states into one kingdom of Italy was not entirely successful until 1870 The other three conflicts were much shorter Prussia and Austria made war on Denmark in 1864 and compelled the Danes to surrender the duchies of Sleswig and Holstein and two years later the Prussians completely defeated the Austrians in a six weeks war and expelled Austria from the German Confederation which had been formed in 1815 It was after this war that Prussia annexed Hanover which had been in alliance with Austria The kingdom of Prussia thus became much the greatest German state and a quarrel with France in 1870 afforded another opportunity for its aggrandizement The French were completely defeated the Emperor Napoleon III was captured and France became once more a republic By the Treaty of Frankfort in 1871 the French were compelled to surrender Alsace and a large portion of Lorraine two districts which though originally German had been French provinces for a very long time Alsace and Lorraine were surrendered not to Prussia but to a new European Power the German Empire In January 1871 while a siege of Paris was in progress the kings and princes of the German states agreed to form a federated Empire and the new Imperial Crown was conferred upon the King of Prussia at a great ceremony held in Versailles the palace which Louis XIV had built outside Paris The German Empire was much stronger

than Prussia had been without the other states for Saxony and Bavaria had frequently been the enemies of Prussia in European wars and the creation of the new empire was an event of first importance in European history

Public opinion in this country had been divided about British participation in some of these wars and it had been argued that British assistance should be given to the Italians and to the Danes but it is impossible to condemn the policy which kept the nation at peace There was however no important section of public opinion which urged intervention in the Franco Prussian war of 1870 Napoleon III had never been liked in this country even during the Franco British alliance in the Crimean War and about 1860 suspicions of the French emperor were so widespread that a large Volunteer force was raised to defend the country against a French invasion Napoleon never had any serious intention of engaging in a war with Great Britain but his efforts to maintain his popularity in France by a brilliant foreign policy aroused a deep distrust of his aims and in 1870 there was much more sympathy with Prussia than with France The British Government at the outbreak of the war contented itself with ascertaining from both France and Prussia that they would respect the neutrality of Belgium and took no part in the struggle But the misfortunes of France the disappearance of Napoleon III from French politics the courage with which the French set themselves to make a great recovery from the disasters of the struggle and the violence and severity of the Germans in their dealings with their vanquished enemies produced in this country a greater sympathy for France than probably had existed at any other period of our history

There was another great and memorable struggle fought not in Europe but in America which created great difficulties in British policy The United States of America had long been engaged in a great controversy about the institution of slavery The Northern States

had given up slavery and had freed their slaves but there were still large numbers of negro slaves in the Southern States A large party in the North demanded the abolition of slavery throughout the whole country and in 1860 Abraham Lincoln a leader of the Abolitionists was elected President of the United States for the years 1861–65 Lincoln did not propose to force the slave-owners to emancipate their slaves, but some of the Southern States alarmed by his election, seceded from the great federation of the United States which had come into existence after the War of American Independence The Northern States denied the right of the Southern States to secede and break up the Union and a civil war broke out in 1861 between the 'Federals and the Confederates or Southerners The war was fought on the issue of the right of the Southern States to secede but the question of the continuance of slavery was involved in the conflict and when the Northerners or Federals were victorious in a fierce five years struggle slavery was abolished in the United States of America

The great cotton spinning industry in Lancashire was dependent upon supplies of cotton from the Southern States and the cessation of these supplies brought about the closing of most of the cotton mills but in spite of this popular feeling in this country was on the side of the North because it was recognized that the Federals were fighting for the abolition of slavery The British Government however did not represent the general feeling of the country upon the question The Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston and his colleagues were impressed by the argument that the Confederates were justified in declining to remain within the American Union and they treated them with a sympathy which was resented by the Federals who expected that Great Britain as the first European country to prohibit slavery, would try to help the enemies of slavery in America The British Government did indeed refuse to consider a suggestion made by Napoleon III, that France and

Great Britain should offer to mediate between the two parties—a suggestion made in the interests of the Southern States but in dealing with international problems created by the war Lord Palmerston's Cabinet adopted an attitude which was neither reasonable nor friendly

Two famous incidents occurred in the course of the struggle In the first of these the Federals were in the wrong for in 1861 they searched a British steamer the *Trent* and captured two envoys sent by the Confederates to Europe The British Cabinet remonstrated and were entirely justified in doing so but they made their remonstrance so severe that if it had been dispatched in its original form there would have been a danger of its being regarded as a declaration of war Fortunately the Prince Consort the husband of Queen Victoria saw the document and though he was stricken with a fatal illness he realized the danger and on the queen's suggestion the letter was altered so as to make it easy instead of difficult for the United States Government to apologize They did apologize and the *Trent* case came to an end In the other incident the British Government made a bad blunder They did not interfere when an armed vessel called the *Alabama* was built in this country for the Confederate navy It sailed in the summer of 1862 and it was used to destroy ships belonging to the Northerners This was an offence against international law and after the Federal victory in the war Great Britain paid a large sum of money as compensation to the Americans

We have now dealt with the most important questions in the foreign policy of the country between the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 and the creation of the German Empire in 1871 In home affairs the great controversies were connected with Free Trade and Parliamentary Reform There had long been a tendency to lower or remove the customs duties charged upon foreign goods imported into Great Britain and many of these duties

had been abolished in the eighteenth century by Walpole and by the younger Pitt Lord Melbourne who had been the Whig Prime Minister when Queen Victoria came to the throne was defeated at a general election in 1841 and a Tory ministry under Sir Robert Peel came into office Peel as we have seen had been a member of Lord Liverpool's Cabinet It had made many reductions in import duties and he believed that if the duties were still further reduced more goods would be imported and a larger sum of money would be received in taxation and he carried out this policy on a large scale in 1842 and in 1845 reducing or abolishing the duties on a very large number of imported goods

There was one kind of import with regard to which there had long been a fierce controversy A customs duty was charged upon foreign corn The object of the duty was not so much to obtain revenue as to protect British farming It was feared that if foreign corn was allowed to come freely into the country the foreign producers might undersell the British farmers and no profit would be obtained from farming at home Land would go out of cultivation and Great Britain would become dependent upon other countries for its food supply During the great French war the price of corn was very high but the import of foreign corn was forbidden unless the home product was being sold at 80s per quarter (8 bushels) In the hard times which followed the close of the war there was a demand for the abolition of the duty and at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign an Anti Corn-Law League was formed by Richard Cobden and John Bright Some concessions had been made since 1815 and foreign corn was admitted when the home price was 70s instead of 80s per quarter but Cobden and Bright urged that there should be no taxes on food and Peel who had considerable sympathy with them reduced the duty on corn in 1842 but he was opposed to its abolition

Then something happened which made him change his mind just as he had changed his mind about Catholic

Emancipation in 1829 There was a very bad harvest in England and Scotland in 1845 and in Ireland the potato crop the chief means of subsistence was so poor that there was a famine in the land Peel resolved to abolish taxes upon food but the Tory party which he led believed in protecting British agricultural interests and he resigned office The Whig leader Lord John Russell tried to form a Whig Government in the end of 1845 but he failed to secure the colleagues whom he wanted and Peel again became Prime Minister In defiance of the opinions of a large section of his own party and with the help of the Whig Opposition he repealed the Corn Laws in 1846 Immediately afterwards he was defeated in the House of Commons and had to resign and his action destroyed the strength of the Tory or Conservative party which was divided into Protectionists and Peelites but his policy of the free admission of corn has remained unchanged for over eighty years The potato crop in Ireland was worse in 1846 than it had been in the preceding year and help had to be given and foreign corn imported to keep the people from starvation

Peel s policy of decreasing import duties upon other imports besides grain was afterwards continued by his follower William Ewart Gladstone and in great measure it has been maintained until the present day although it has been modified by a desire to encourage trade within the Empire by admitting imports from the Overseas Dominions on easier terms than those from foreign countries and since the close of the Great German War import duties have been imposed to increase the national revenue When Peel became Prime Minister, most of the national expenditure was met by what is called indirect taxation —that is duties upon goods manufactured in the country or imported from overseas It is called indirect because the duty is included in the price of the goods and the purchaser does not know how much he is paying for the articles themselves or what part of the price is really a tax paid to the

Government Peel's hope that the increase in imported goods would make up for the decrease in the duties was not realized and the Income Tax (which he introduced in the belief that it would prove to be a temporary expedient), and other forms of direct taxation have come to supply the Government with the greater part of the revenue required for the administration of the country

Soon after the victory of the Anti Corn Law League another political agitation absorbed the attention of the country Ever since the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 there had been a movement to widen the franchise and admit new voters to political power This demand had been embodied in The People's Charter a programme of reform drawn up in 1838 It asked that every man should have a vote at the age of twenty one even if he possessed no property and did not rent a house or farm that each constituency should be composed of an equal number of electors, that voting should be by ballot that a Parliament should last for only one year that members of the House of Commons should no longer be required to qualify for membership by the ownership of land or houses and that members of Parliament should receive payment for their services Almost all these things have now become part of the law of the land the most important exception is that Parliament is not elected annually But the country was not ready for such a programme and the Chartists made for some years very little impression Then in 1848 the agitation suddenly revived There was a revolution in France in that year (*cf* p 187) and there were also revolutionary movements in various German states The Chartists believed that their opportunity had come and though their leader Feargus O'Connor disapproved of violence there were violent outbreaks in several parts of the country An insurrection was expected in London on 10th April 1848 when the Chartists were to present a monster petition to the House of Commons and great preparations were

made to suppress any disorder But there was no attempt at violence and the petition was presented peaceably Many of the names attached to it were found to be fictitious and the Chartist movement though most of its aims were ultimately realized did not survive the ridicule produced by the examination of the petition

Before long many members of the House of Commons came to recognize that something must be done in the way of parliamentary reform and the Liberal Government of Lord John Russell introduced a Reform Bill in 1852 But while there was considerable agreement that something ought to be done there were wide differences of opinion as to what ought to be done and for some years every attempt to pass a Reform Bill led to disaster Russell was defeated in 1852 and the Conservatives under Lord Derby came into office and they were then opposed to reform The best chance came in the end of the same year when the Derby Government was succeeded by a Coalition Cabinet of Liberals and Free Trade Conservatives under Lord Aberdeen but the outbreak of the Crimean War diverted attention from home affairs After the war other attempts were made both by a second Conservative Cabinet under Lord Derby and by a later Liberal Cabinet under Russell At last in 1867 the Conservatives led by Lord Derby and Benjamin Disraeli with the help of the Liberal Opposition succeeded in passing the Second Reform Act which gave the vote to every householder in the towns whatever the value of the house that he occupied and also to every lodger who paid £10 a year in rent In the counties the voters were occupiers of land or houses valued at or above £12 a year The Second Reform Act completed the work of the Act of 1832 in enfranchising the middle classes and it also included a large number of artisans in the towns but it made no provision for the agricultural labourers in the counties

The year that witnessed the Second Reform Act saw

also an important stage in the long struggle for a reform of the factory system Lord Ashley had continued to urge Parliament to pass laws for the protection of women and children and his efforts were opposed by the manufacturers and by others who held that the State should not interfere in questions of hours and wages This argument as applied to women and children could not survive the revelations made by a Government Commission of Inquiry which reported in 1842 The horrors revealed in the report were brought home to the conscience of the nation by Mrs Browning s poem The Cry of the Children but the opposition to reform was so strong that Ashley could not persuade Parliament to do more than forbid the employment of women or of boys under ten years of age in underground mines This Act was passed in 1842 and it was not until 1847 that he succeeded in getting the hours of work of young persons under eighteen years of age limited to ten hours a day Ashley who became Lord Shaftesbury in 1851 continued his efforts and in 1867 Parliament ordered that Government officials should inspect all factories in which women and young persons were employed

Almost all the Cabinets which held office during this period had to deal with troubles in Ireland The Union was not popular and the Irish people had a number of grievances which were remedied only after a long and often violent agitation In the reign of William IV and in the first year of Victoria there were so many outrages committed by Irish Roman Catholics who objected to paying tithes to the clergy of the Protestant Established Church that the movement was known as the Tithe War The grievance was partially removed by the Irish Tithe Act of 1838 but a new agitation led by Daniel O Connell (*cf* p 178) began in 1840 O Connell asked for the repeal of the Act of Union and the creation of a separate Irish Parliament and some of his followers went beyond their leader and demanded the entire separation of Ireland from Great Britain O Connell roused a national feeling among the Roman

Catholics of Southern Ireland but he disapproved of violence and disorder and it was not until after his death that an insurrection was attempted in 1848 Its leader William Smith O Brien received very little support and the rebellion was a fiasco but it was soon followed by the formation of a secret society known as the Fenians which received pecuniary help from Irish Americans The Fenians tried various devices A conspiracy in 1865 was discovered by the Government in the following year the members of the society who lived in America attempted an invasion of Canada but were easily driven out and in 1867 there was an unsuccessful attempt to blow up Clerkenwell Gaol in London

While these various attempts at compelling Great Britain to yield to Irish demands were taking place successive Governments were passing measures to improve the condition of the poor and to provide a national system of education in Ireland Sir Robert Peel in 1845 tried to conciliate Irish Roman Catholics by largely increasing a grant which had been made by the old Irish Parliament for the training of Catholic priests at Maynooth College near Dublin and by establishing University Colleges for the education of laymen Peel would have done still more to improve British relations with Ireland but just as Pitt had been prevented by George III from passing a wise measure (*cf* p 161) so Peel found that English and Scottish religious prejudices would not allow him to carry out his policy in its entirety A further step was taken by Gladstone when he came into power in 1868 He disestablished the Church of Ireland to which only a small minority of the Irish people belonged and devoted its revenues to the relief of the poor

During the earlier part of the reign of Victoria there were large extensions of the British Empire the result partly of wars and partly of exploration and economic development The fighting was mainly in India. British

India created by Clive and consolidated by Warren Hastings had been enlarged in the course of the Great French War by territory in Mysore annexed after a long struggle with two successive rulers of Mysore Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo Sahib and by annexations made after another long conflict with the fierce tribes of the Mahrattas A Mahratta war in which the future Duke of Wellington gained his first victory at the Battle of Assaye in 1803 had made the British masters of Delhi the ancient capital of India The old Mogul Empire had long lost its authority and the Mogul emperor who had been under Mahratta rule had willingly accepted British protection as also had some other Indian princes The Mahrattas had been finally defeated in 1817–18 and a series of Governor Generals had been able to devote their attention to improving the administration of British India and to suppressing some cruel practices such as *sati* the custom of burning a widow on her husband's funeral pyre But at the beginning of the Victorian Era the peace of British India was threatened by events in the neighbouring regions of Afghanistan and the Punjab

The trouble with the Afghans was closely connected with a danger which affected British policy throughout almost the whole of Queen Victoria's reign The vast empire of Russia stretched to what might be regarded as the borders of India and from time to time the Russian Government took steps which indicated an intention to destroy British influence in India In 1839 the Amir of Afghanistan Dost Mahomed was intriguing with Russia and the Governor General of India Lord Auckland resolved to dethrone him and to replace him by a rival named Shah Sujah A British army marched to Kabul the capital of Afghanistan put Shah Sujah on the throne and left garrisons at Kabul and Kandahar to support the authority of the new Amir The Governor General's policy seemed to be successful but in 1841–42 there was a rebellion against Shah Sujah He was murdered and the British troops were attacked and by a gross breach of faith most of them

were killed This event showed that Lord Auckland had greatly underestimated the difficulty and the danger of interfering in the affairs of the wild Afghan tribes and he was recalled A new army was sent to retrieve the military reputation of Great Britain and it occupied Kabul for a time but Dost Mahomed was allowed to return as Amir and an agreement was made with him

It is very doubtful indeed if Lord Auckland's intervention in Afghanistan was necessary or wise but the Indian Government could not have avoided the next great struggle the wars with the Sikhs the inhabitants of the Punjab A great soldier Ranjit Singh had trained a powerful army and had made the Punjab a great military state He had been friendly to the British but when he died the rulers of the Punjab were afraid of their own powerful army and in the end of 1845 they sent it to invade British India in the hope that it would be reduced in numbers and enfeebled by the struggle and so would cease to be a danger to the Government The Sikhs were the most persistent and the best equipped force that the British had ever had to meet on Indian battlefields and it was only after very severe fighting that in 1846 the Punjab ceased to be an independent state and came under British protection Two years later the Sikh army again revolted and in the second Sikh War of 1848–49 Lord Gough who had commanded in the first war entirely destroyed the power of the Sikh army in the Battle of Gujerat (February 1849) The Governor General Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab This was a necessary consequence of the Sikh attacks on British India but Dalhousie aroused suspicion and jealousy in India by annexing territory in other parts of India especially in Oudh the king of which was deposed for misgovernment

Dalhousie's successor Lord Canning a son of the great minister of the reign of George IV had to face the gravest peril that British India has ever known The Indian Mutiny of 1857–58 was the result partly of a distrust of British policy created by Dalhousie's annexa

tions and partly of a blunder committed by the military authorities The Indian army consisted both of British troops and of native soldiers or Sepoys Native troops had been employed by the British since the time of Clive and they had rarely proved false to their European masters In 1856 a new rifle was supplied for the use of the Indian army and the Sepoys believed and had some reason for believing that the fat of the cow a sacred animal to the Hindus was used to grease the cartridges for the rifles The result was a widespread conviction that the British intended to destroy the religion of the Sepoys by forcing them to defile themselves in this way and the native army mutinied in 1857 The Sepoys seized Delhi and besieged Cawnpore and Lucknow There was a terrible massacre of Europeans including many women and children at Cawnpore and some time elapsed before fresh British troops could be sent But Lucknow gallantly defended by Sir Henry Lawrence was relieved and Delhi was retaken in September 1857 and in the following winter Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde) suppressed the Mutiny This great struggle was followed in 1858 by the transference of the Government of British India from the old East India Company to the Crown represented by a Secretary of State for India In 1877 Parliament conferred on the queen the title of Empress of India

While military struggles were increasing the Indian dominions exploration and commerce were adding territories to the Empire elsewhere New colonies were founded in Australia New Zealand and Tasmania and the discovery of gold and of copper in Australia brought large numbers of fresh colonists in addition to the farmers who had been settling for many years and cultivating the soil or breeding sheep In South Africa British colonists spread from Cape Colony which had been annexed in 1815 into Natal and it became a British colony in 1843 and in other regions of Africa the travels and explorations of the great Scottish missionary David Livingstone led to the establishment of British influence

In Canada also there was a great expansion and new colonies were added to the old French Canadian province of Quebec and the English speaking colony of Ontario founded largely by refugees from the United States who were expelled after the War of American Independence because they had supported the British cause

Not less important than the extension of the territories of the Empire was the problem of the relations of the Overseas Dominions with the Motherland The lesson of the American War of Independence had not been thoroughly learned when Queen Victoria came to the throne and in the very year of her accession there were troubles in Canada which might easily have led to another disruption of the Empire Canada had been divided in 1791 into Quebec or Lower Canada and Ontario or Upper Canada and the constitution established by Pitt in that year had satisfied the Canadians and had secured their loyalty during the American War of 1812–14 But in the interval between the close of that war and the beginning of the Victorian Era the colonists and especially the French Canadians in Quebec had come to resent the interference of the Home Government in local affairs Although each province had its own elected Assembly the Legislative Council was appointed by the Governor who was responsible to a Secretary of State in London As the colonies progressed in population and wealth there came a demand that the Legislative Council should be elected by the people instead of being nominated by the Crown Such a demand alarmed the officials in London who thought that it would lead to a separation of the Canadian provinces from the Empire Some of the colonists became impatient and there was a rebellion both in Quebec and in Ontario in 1837

The rebellion was not serious in itself but it had very important results A new Governor the Earl of Durham was appointed He was successful in restoring order but he was severe and autocratic and the Home Government recalled him When he came home

he sent to the Colonial Office what proved to be the most important document in the constitutional history of the Empire It was called a ' Report on the Affairs of British North America and it is always known as Durham s Report Its great merit was that it destroyed the old belief that self government must lead to separation and secession from the Empire It showed that a refusal to grant self government must cause continuing and increasing discontent and thus sow the seeds of rebellion and separation It argued that a colony possessing an elected Parliament and managing its own affairs was likely to remain contented with its position in the Empire and that it would therefore be safe to grant self government to the Canadians provided that Great Britain retained authority over foreign policy and over the naval and military measures necessary for the defence of the Empire

The Prime Minister Lord Melbourne was wise enough to take Durham s advice and in 1840 his Government passed the Canadian Act of Union which gave to the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada a Parliament elected by the Canadians and entrusted with power over colonial affairs The Canadian ministers were to be responsible to this Parliament as well as to the Governor and the Crown It was a new ideal for the Empire and the principle of ' responsible government was soon afterwards extended to the Australasian colonies and at a later date to Cape Colony

The impetus given by Canada to the development of the constitution of the British Empire did not end with the establishment of responsible government in 1840 There were besides Canada other British possessions in North America—Newfoundland Nova Scotia New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island—and all of these with the exception of Newfoundland came to agree to form one federated Dominion each of them managing its own local affairs but sharing in a central government for the administration of the Dominion as a whole In 1867 the British Parliament passed the British North

America Act which formed Canada Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into the Dominion of Canada and the Act gave the new Dominion much wider powers than had been granted in 1840 Prince Edward Island entered the Dominion in 1873 and before that date three new provinces had been added These provinces had been administered by an old trading company the Hudson s Bay Company which had played a very large part in the exploration of Canada The administrative powers of the Hudson s Bay Company came to an end in 1869 as the similar powers enjoyed by the East India Company had come to an end in 1858 and its territories with other lands recently explored and colonized were organized as the provinces of Manitoba British Columbia and the North West Territories and were included in the great Canadian Dominion We shall see that the example of Canada was afterwards followed by other parts of the Empire

# CHAPTER XII

## THE VICTORIAN AGE—II

THE most important aspects of the history of the later portion of the Victorian Era are connected with Ireland and with the development of the Empire Successive Governments made useful reforms at home but their attention was always being diverted by troubles in Ireland or by colonial wars and the differences of policy between the two great political parties Liberals and Conservatives were chiefly connected with Irish questions and with questions of Empire policy William Ewart Gladstone was Prime Minister from 1868 to 1874 from 1880 to 1885 for a few months in 1886 and for the last time from 1892 to 1894 (when he retired from public life and another Liberal minister Lord Rosebery took his place) and the record of his work as a statesman during most of these years is associated with Ireland Benjamin Disraeli afterwards Lord Beaconsfield was Prime Minister from 1874 to 1880 and posterity thinks of him as an Imperial statesman Lord Salisbury was Prime Minister in 1885–86 from 1886 to 1892 and from 1895 to 1902 and his name is also generally associated with Ireland and with the Empire

Yet the domestic legislation of these years was varied and important Perhaps the most important step of all was taken in 1870 when the Gladstone Ministry established a national system of education For nearly forty years Parliament had made grants in aid of the

education of the young but the Education Act of 1870 provided that there should be a school in every parish and made it compulsory for every parent to send his children to school Disraeli's Government in 1878 applied the system of Government supervision of factories to factories of all sorts whether women and children were employed in them or not and thus for the first time gave State protection to adult male workers and this protection was extended in 1894 to include a limitation of the hours of work in certain trades A series of Acts increased the rights and powers of trade unions The Third Reform Act passed by Gladstone in 1884 gave a vote to agricultural labourers in the counties and later measures created a new system of local administration—County Councils in 1888 and Parish Councils in 1894

When proposals for domestic reform were made in Parliament during these years it used to be replied that Ireland blocks the way and from 1877 onwards a very large proportion of the time of Parliament was absorbed by Irish affairs A new Irish leader Charles Stewart Parnell set himself to prevent Parliament as far as possible from transacting other business until it should repeal the Act of Union and give Home Rule to Ireland The House of Commons from time to time altered its rules of procedure in order to meet the ingenious devices employed by the Irishmen to waste time but fresh methods of obstruction were constantly invented and apart from deliberate efforts of this kind affairs in Ireland occupied a disproportionate share of the attention of Parliament The Home Rule League which had been founded in 1873 was followed by a Land League in 1879 and the object of the Land League was to make miserable the life of Irish landlords The members of the League not only refused to pay rent for the lands they occupied they destroyed crops maimed cattle and were guilty of a large number of murders One of their methods gave a new word to the English language A land agent named Captain

Boycott was sentenced by the League to be shunned and avoided by everybody in his neighbourhood any one who spoke to him or supplied him with goods or worked as his servant was to incur the vengeance of the League Ultimately he had to leave the district and the use of this device came to be known as " boycotting

There were unquestionable abuses in the Irish land system Gladstone had remedied some of them when he was in power in 1870 and in 1881 he passed a second Irish Land Act to protect the tenants from harsh or unfair treatment But the Land League continued its outrages and Gladstone arrested some of its leaders including Parnell and passed a Crimes Act to strengthen the law in repressing disorder in Ireland Then he changed his policy of ' coercion as it was described for an attempt at conciliation and in the beginning of 1882 released Parnell The new policy did not even get a fair start The most important office in the Government of Ireland was that of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant and a new Chief Secretary Lord Frederick Cavendish was sent to Dublin to carry out the scheme of conciliation He had scarcely been a day in the country when he was murdered along with another prominent Government official in the Phœnix Park at Dublin by members of a secret society called the ' Invincibles ' These murders put an end to Gladstone s new policy another Crimes Act was passed and disorders and outrages continued until he went out of office in 1885 There was a General Election that year and Liberals and Conservatives were so equally divided in the new House of Commons that neither could conduct a Government without the support of Parnell and the Irish members

Gladstone who had always regretted the failure of his conciliatory measure determined to try a much greater experiment and he announced his intention of supporting the Irish demand for Home Rule The Irish members therefore helped him to defeat Lord Salisbury, the Conservative leader who had been in power for a

few months and in 1886 Gladstone introduced the *first Home Rule Bill* Ireland was not united in demanding Home Rule for the Protestants who formed a large proportion of the population of Ulster were as vehement in insisting upon the maintenance of the Union as the Roman Catholics of Munster Leinster and Connaught were in desiring its repeal and the violent differences which separated Ulster from the rest of Ireland had a profound effect upon the whole history of the controversy Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule divided the Liberal party into Gladstonians and Liberal Unionists led by Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Hartington (afterwards Duke of Devonshire) The first Home Rule Bill was thrown out by the House of Commons in June 1886 a General Election produced a large Unionist majority and a Conservative Government under Lord Salisbury succeeded in repressing Irish disorder though not in destroying the demand for Home Rule A new Crimes Act armed the Government with fresh powers for the punishment and prevention of crime while at the same time efforts were made to improve the economic condition of the country and to increase its agricultural and fishing industries The next General Election in 1892 gave the Liberals and the Irish members together a small majority over the Conservatives and Unionist Liberals and Gladstone though he was in his eighty third year formed a new Ministry and introduced the second Home Rule Bill It passed the House of Commons but was defeated in the House of Lords in 1893 and Lord Rosebery who succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister in 1894 did not renew the struggle Another Salisbury Cabinet composed both of Conservatives and of Liberal Unionists came into power after a General Election in 1895 and the Irish question slumbered for a time though it had not been settled

While Irish troubles were harassing successive British Governments the development of the Empire involved

the country in a series of wars In the last years of Disraeli's Government the policy of Russia aroused great alarm about the safety of India In 1877–78 there was a war between Russia and Turkey and the Russians were again believed to be aiming at the conquest of Constantinople This danger came to an end with the conclusion of peace between Russia and Turkey and with a European Congress held at Berlin in 1878 which solved some very difficult questions connected with the misgovernment of their Christian subjects by the Turks whose massacres in Bulgaria had shocked the whole of Europe The Berlin Conference secured the independence of Roumania and Serbia as well as of Bulgaria But at the same time Russian influence was creating difficulties for the British in Afghanistan, as it had done forty years earlier The Amir of Afghanistan Shere Ali insulted the Government of India and stirred up some of the wild tribes of the frontier against the British Lord Lytton the Viceroy of India, sent a British army to Kabul in 1878 Shere Ali fled and died on his way to seek help in Russia and his son, Yakub Khan came to terms with the Government of India Just as in 1839 the British seemed to have carried out their Afghan policy successfully but a rude awakening was again to come. In September 1879 Yakub Khan was dethroned and in the course of the revolution the British representatives at Kabul were murdered An army under Sir Frederick Roberts soon entered Kabul but it was quickly surrounded by Afghans and had in turn to be relieved Then a new candidate for the Afghan throne was found—Abdul Rahman who made a treaty with the British and kept the peace throughout his reign. But just after the new Amir was proclaimed and the whole of the trouble seemed to be over a British army was unexpectedly [illegible] and (July 1880) and a British [illegible] had to be relieved by a famous [illegible] from Kabul In spite of the loyal [illegible] Rahman to his agreements with the Government

India the policy of Russia continued for some years to cause anxiety

While the second Afghan War was in progress there had been a campaign in Zululand on the borders of British South Africa and it was scarcely over before the Gladstone Government which had just come into power had to deal with a very difficult South African problem After the annexation of Cape Colony in 1815 the Dutch settlers who were not prepared to accept British rule moved into neighbouring districts and in course of time two Dutch or Boer states were formed—the Transvaal and the Orange Free State The independence of these states was acknowledged by Great Britain but there were internal troubles in the Transvaal and in 1877 it was annexed to the British Crown The Transvaal Boers had been disturbed by the Zulus and they made no resistance to annexation until the Zulu war had been fought to protect them Then in 1880 they declared their independence and they gained a victory over a small British force at Majuba Hill in February 1881 The Gladstone Cabinet of 1880–85 was in office and it decided not to try to maintain the policy of annexation By agreements made in 1881 and in 1884 the Transvaal became the South African Republic a self governing and semi independent state under the suzerainty or superiority of the British Crown a vague arrangement which led to a great war after the lapse of some years

No Prime Minister ever was more desirous of following a pacific policy than W E Gladstone He put an end to the Afghan War and refused to fight in South Africa but in spite of his efforts to keep the peace he almost immediately found the country involved in campaigns in Egypt That country was governed by a Khedive and was under the over lordship of the Sultan of Turkey It was of great importance to Great Britain because it commanded what used to be called the overland route to India Passengers used to sail down the Mediterranean cross by land to the Red Sea and take

ship again The importance of Egypt as the route to India had been greatly increased by the construction of a canal through the Isthmus of Suez between 1859 and 1869 for ships could now pass from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and so into the Indian Ocean The work was done by a French company but half the shares in the Suez Canal belonged to the Khedive of Egypt His extravagance made his country bankrupt and in 1875 Disraeli then Prime Minister purchased these shares for the British Government A few years later the Khedive Ismail who had made this bargain was deposed by the Sultan in favour of his son the Khedive Tewfik and Great Britain and France undertook the task of helping him to establish good government in Egypt

The Dual Control of Great Britain and France began in 1879 Three years later there was a rebellion led by Arabi Pasha an Egyptian minister who seized the city of Alexandria The French took no steps to repress the rebellion and the British Government resolved to restore order After a bombardment of Alexandria a British force under Sir Garnet Wolseley defeated and captured Arabi Pasha at the Battle of Tel el Kebir (September 1882) and the British representative or Agent at Cairo became the chief adviser of the Egyptian Government Everything seemed to be going well when in 1883 a religious fanatic known as the Mahdi raised another rebellion in the Soudan a vast district chiefly desert which belonged to Egypt Gladstone was not prepared to use the resources of the British Empire for the reconquest of the Soudan but there were troops belonging to the Egyptian army in various parts of the province A British general Charles Gordon was sent to arrange for the evacuation of the Soudan by these troops and to try to establish some sort of government under the rule of the Mahdi Gordon went to the Soudan with a small force and he was besieged in Khartoum by the troops of the Mahdi The siege began in March 1884 but it was not until

September that the British Government organized a relief expedition under Wolseley It reached Khartoum in the end of January 1885 but the fortress had been taken two days before and Gordon had been murdered by the dervishes who followed the Mahdi The failure to send aid to General Gordon was deeply resented and it was one of the causes of the defeat of the Gladstone Government in the same year

From 1885 to 1896 there was a period of almost entire peace throughout the Empire and the next series of military operations was also connected with the Soudan Great Britain through the British Agent at Cairo Lord Cromer had established good order in Egypt and had made the country solvent but the Soudan had remained under the barbarous and tyrannous rule of the Mahdi and his successor the Khalifa The Government of Lord Salisbury resolved on its reconquest in the interests of Egypt and this was achieved by a victory gained at Omdurman in September 1898 by a force partly British and partly Egyptian under the command of Sir Herbert (afterwards Earl) Kitchener The administration of the Soudan was undertaken by Great Britain and a great scheme of irrigation was carried out

Scarcely had the Soudan been reconquered when a long and arduous struggle broke out in South Africa Economic and social conditions in the Transvaal or South African Republic had greatly changed since 1881 The discovery of gold in 1884 brought large numbers of British and other settlers into the Transvaal and when the arrangement made after Majuba was revised in the Convention of London in 1884 a provision was inserted for the protection of such settlers The Boers themselves were old fashioned and unprogressive farmers and the great industrial developments which between 1884 and 1899 made the Transvaal a wealthy state were due to the enterprise of the foreign settlers or Uitlanders The numbers of the Uitlanders were much larger than those of the Boers and under the influence of the President of the Republic Paul Kruger

the Transvaal Government took steps to render it very difficult—and indeed almost impossible—for a British settler to obtain the rights of a naturalized citizen in accordance with the provisions of the Convention of London They adopted this policy in order to prevent the Uitlanders from obtaining through their superiority in numbers complete control over the Government of the Transvaal but the result was to leave the large and wealthy industrial population at the mercy of a small number of Boer farmers who forbade them to hold public meetings and refused to pass measures necessary for the proper conduct of the industry on which the prosperity of the country depended The Uitlanders for example desired to prevent the native Kaffir labourers from obtaining unlimited supplies of alcoholic liquor their addiction to which led to outrages and disorders but the Government would take no step in this direction

For some years the Uitlanders were content with placing their grievances before the British Government and asking it to insist upon the fulfilment of the conditions accepted by the Boers in the Convention of London but in the end of 1896 they put themselves entirely in the wrong by raising a rebellion They conspired with Dr Jameson the Administrator of the neighbouring British colony of Rhodesia and he led a body of troops into the Transvaal to help the Uitlanders to seize Pretoria and Johannesburg and obtain control of the government The Jameson Raid was easily suppressed by the forces of the republic and the cause of the Uitlanders was greatly injured by the incident In 1899 they again appealed to the British Government to obtain the redress of their grievances and the High Commissioner to South Africa Sir Alfred (afterwards Viscount) Milner tried to persuade President Kruger to give the Uitlanders a small representation in the Volksraad or Parliament of the Transvaal He refused to do so and entered into an offensive alliance with the Orange Free State a Boer republic the independence of which had been acknowledged by Great Britain in

1854 The Orange Free State had no quarrel with the British Government but it made common cause with the Transvaal and Kruger assured of its support sent an ultimatum to the British Government He demanded the abandonment of any claim to represent the interests of the Uitlanders and the withdrawal of British troops which had been sent to reinforce the garrisons in Cape Colony and Natal War broke out in October 1899 and though opinion in Great Britain was to some extent divided about the justice of the war the great self governing Dominions—Canada Australia and New Zealand—sent assistance to the mother country

Great Britain was not ready for a struggle and the Boers invaded Cape Colony and Natal and besieged the towns of Kimberley Mafeking and Ladysmith They received support from Boer settlers in Cape Colony and the British commander Sir Redvers Buller when he arrived in South Africa found that the task before him included the relief of three towns and the suppression of a rebellion His forces were inadequate and in December there was a series of disasters The relief of Kimberley was stopped by a defeat at Magersfontein the Cape rebels won a victory at Stormberg and Buller himself who with the main army was advancing through Natal to relieve Ladysmith was defeated at Colenso on the river Tugela The news of these reverses led Lord Salisbury's Government to send out large reinforcements and a new commander in chief—Lord Roberts who had won distinction in the second Afghan War The garrison at Ladysmith was hard pressed when Roberts accompanied by Lord Kitchener the victor of Omdurman landed at Capetown in January but instead of marching to the assistance of Buller he resolved to bring pressure to bear on the Boers elsewhere and thus to simplify the task of the relieving force He advanced upon Kimberley and succeeded not only in repelling but also in surrounding the besieging army under General

Cronje, who with 4 000 men surrendered at Paardeberg (17th February) two days after British troops had entered Kimberley By the end of the month Buller had relieved Ladysmith and Roberts invading the Boer republics captured Bloemfontein the capital of the Orange Free State in March and Pretoria the capital of the Transvaal in June A large Boer army was defeated outside Pretoria and it was generally believed that the war was over

Lord Roberts returned home leaving the command to Lord Kitchener who found that the Boers were not prepared to accept defeat and acknowledge the annexation of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal which the British Government proclaimed in the summer of 1900 They organized with courage and skill a guerrilla warfare which outlasted the Victorian Era Queen Victoria died on 22nd January 1901 in the eighty-second year of her age and the sixty fourth year of her reign the longest reign in the whole of our history When she came to the throne as a girl in 1837 the prestige of the monarchy had been lowered by the scandals associated with the personal life of George IV and by the eccentricities of his successor She died respected and beloved as few sovereigns have been and her influence had been consistently exerted for the good of her people The South African War did not end until after her son Edward VII (1901–10) had completed the first year of his reign By the Treaty of Vereeniging (May 1902) the Transvaal and the Orange Free State became part of the British Empire and the British Government undertook to grant in due course self-government to the new colonies

The conception of self-governing Colonies or Dominions had undergone considerable development between the date of the Federation of Canada and the end of the Boer War for in 1900 the Australasian colonies with the exception of New Zealand formed the Commonwealth of Australia. It includes what were the separate colonies of New South Wales Victoria South Australia

Queensland Western Australia and Tasmania A beginning had also been made in the direction of creating a partnership among the different portions of the Empire including the motherland The old conception of a colony as a mere dependency of Great Britain had been replaced by the conception of the existence within the Empire of self governing Dominions but these were still regarded as daughter nations managing their own local affairs but possessing no share in the determination of the policy of the Empire as a whole Foreign relations for example were a matter for the mother country alone and Great Britain settled economic questions which affected the whole Empire Many of the Prime Ministers of different parts of the Empire came to London for the celebration of Queen Victoria s Jubilee in 1887 and the opportunity was taken to assemble a Colonial Conference for the discussion of Imperial affairs The experiment was successful and it was repeated from time to time and Mr Joseph Chamberlain who was Colonial Secretary in Lord Salisbury s Cabinet when the old Queen celebrated her Diamond Jubilee in 1897 laid great stress upon this new link between the states of the British Empire But these Conferences were merely for purposes of discussion and though the opinion and advice of the Dominion Premiers were greatly valued they had no share in the determination of policy

In the later years of Queen Victoria s reign there was a large increase in the extent of the British Empire The new territories were not lands colonized by British subjects as Australia had been colonized but regions inhabited by uncivilized peoples among whom Great Britain has undertaken the responsibility of establishing order and good government The Soudan is an example of this kind of territory and there are many more especially in the continent of Africa As the Dark Continent was gradually explored nearly all the European Powers including the new Powers of the German Empire Belgium and Italy became ambitious

of creating what were called spheres of influence in Africa and Great Britain established a large number of African Protectorates including British Somaliland British East Africa (now Kenya Colony) Uganda and Nigeria This scramble for Africa was conducted without bringing about any military conflict among the competing Powers but conditions in Western Europe were menacing the continuance of the period of peace which had followed the Franco Prussian War of 1870–71

# CHAPTER XIII

## THE TWENTIETH CENTURY—I

If the chief interest of the last thirty years of the nineteenth century lies in the development of the Empire the most important aspect of the early years of the twentieth century is to be found in the region of foreign policy At home the long Conservative régime which had lasted since 1886 (with a short break in 1892–95) came to an end in 1905 Lord Salisbury had retired from office at the beginning of the new reign and his successor Mr Arthur Balfour (afterwards the Earl of Balfour) found great difficulty in keeping his party together The Conservative party of that date included both the old Conservatives who had followed Disraeli and a body of Liberal Unionists who had left the Liberal party when Gladstone adopted a Home Rule policy in 1886 One of the Liberal Unionist ministers in Mr Balfour's Cabinet Joseph Chamberlain proposed in 1903 to abandon the policy of Free Trade in favour of a system which was described as *Tariff Reform*—that is a change in the tariff or scale of customs duties charged upon foreign goods entering this country His object was partly to give the advantage of lower charges to goods coming from within the Empire and partly to revive the old device of protecting British manufacturers from the competition of foreign rivals Other prominent Liberal Unionists and some Conservatives vigorously opposed these proposals and the party was

divided against itself The Balfour Cabinet had also incurred great unpopularity by an Education Act (1902) which is now recognized to have produced in many ways a useful and successful development of the educational system in England and by sanctioning the importation of Chinese labourers into South Africa to help to restart the mines after the war A General Election in the beginning of 1906 resulted in a large Liberal majority

The Liberals under Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman (Prime Minister from 1906 to 1908) and then under Mr Asquith (afterwards the Earl of Oxford and Asquith) were in office for eight years before the outbreak of the Great German War brought a cessation of ordinary political rivalry During that period they established a system of old age pensions introduced the custom of paying members of the House of Commons for their services and limited the constitutional powers of the House of Lords The Conservative party strongly objected to proposals made by the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr Lloyd George in the Budget of 1909 and after it had passed through the House of Commons it was rejected by the Lords The House of Lords had lost in the seventeenth century the right of altering or amending Money Bills but it still possessed the power of rejecting them though that power had not been exercised for many years When the Lords threw out the Budget Mr Asquith appealed to the country, but the verdict given in a General Election in January 1910 was indecisive The Liberals lost one hundred seats and had only a tiny majority over the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists but with the help of the Irish Nationalists they remained in office and brought in a Bill to limit the power of the House of Lords

The Parliament Bill proposed to deprive the House of Lords of the right to reject a Money Bill sent up by the Commons and also to deprive it of the right of rejecting a Bill of any kind sent up by the Commons in each of three successive sessions and it also provided that the duration of a Parliament should be five years

at the utmost instead of the seven years allowed by the Septennial Act of 1716 Party conflict over these proposals was very bitter when King Edward VII died in May 1910 and while the country was mourning his loss an effort was made to arrive at an amicable settlement and a Constitutional Conference was held Its members failed to agree and the opinion of the country was invited a second time in the course of one year A General Election in December merely repeated the results of the January election and the Parliament Bill passed into law in 1911 The House of Lords by a majority permitted it to pass because Mr Asquith had obtained the consent of King George V to the creation of a large number of peers in the event of the Bill being rejected A Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales was passed by the House of Commons in the three successive sessions of 1912 1913 and 1914 and was rejected by the Lords in 1912 and 1913 The Bill thus became law under the provisions of the Parliament Act in 1914 but its operation was postponed until after the end of the Great War

A still more important measure was also passed under the Parliament Act From January 1910 the Asquith Cabinet held office only through the support of the Irish Nationalists who had never abandoned their demand for Home Rule They knew that the House of Lords would never pass a Home Rule Bill and they had therefore welcomed the passing of the Parliament Act Although the question of Home Rule for Ireland had not been definitely before the country at either of the elections in 1910 Mr Asquith introduced the third Home Rule Bill in 1912 It was rejected by the Lords both in 1912 and in 1913 and when it was passing through its third successive session in the House of Commons in 1914 the opposition of Ulster was so vehement that the country seemed to be on the verge of civil war The Ulstermen declared that they would never submit to the rule of an Irish Parliament in which their hereditary enemies would have an overwhelming

majority and the Nationalists would not hear of the exclusion of Ulster from the operation of the Bill The Ulstermen were preparing to defend themselves by an armed volunteer force and their preparations had the approval of the Conservative leaders The king called a Conference in July 1914 to try to devise a peaceful compromise The Conference failed but within a few days the country was plunged into a European war and Mr John Redmond the Nationalist leader undertook that Ireland would remain peaceful during the struggle The Bill became under the Parliament Act the Home Rule Act of 1914 but its operation was suspended and Mr Asquith promised that Ulster would be excepted from its scope The compromise thus devised had no effect for as we shall see the Home Rule Act of 1914 was never carried into operation

The most notable success of the Liberal period of rule was attained in South Africa Before the fall of the Balfour Cabinet the energy and statesmanship of Lord Milner had enabled the country to recover from the effects of the three years of war and the Cabinet intended that under his successor the two new colonies should cease to be governed by administrators appointed by Great Britain and should have representative institutions though not yet complete self government When Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman became Prime Minister in the end of 1905 he resolved to go beyond the intentions of his predecessor and to satisfy the desire of the Boers for an immediate grant of self government The wisdom of giving an autonomous constitution within three years after the end of a long struggle was doubted by a large section of public opinion but it was justified by the result Under the guidance of a great statesman General Louis Botha the two new colonies responded loyally to the trust which had been reposed in them and in 1909 they united with the older British colonies to form the Union of South Africa a great federal Dominion which includes Cape Colony Natal the Transvaal and the Orange Free State

During the early years of the twentieth century British foreign policy underwent an important development Since the end of the Napoleonic War the traditional policy of the country had been to avoid alliances with any of the Powers of the Continent except for occasional and temporary purposes This rule had been easily maintained until the Franco Prussian War brought about a profound change in the European situation The annexation of Alsace Lorraine by the new German Empire in 1871 made friendship between France and Germany an impossibility for the French were determined to recover, at some future date their lost provinces Both countries maintained large armies by the system of conscription or compulsory military service and each was engaged in forming an alliance with other European states France found it difficult to secure an ally She was the only great Republic in Europe and the monarchs of other countries distrusted republican institutions and were afraid that the Third French Republic would try to spread republicanism in Europe as the First French Republic had done Immediately after the war the German Empire made an alliance both with the Austrian and with the Russian Empire and the League of the Three Emperors left France without an ally But Austria and Russia were rivals for predominance in the Balkans where the new states Greece Bulgaria Roumania and Serbia which threw off the yoke of Turkey in the course of the nineteenth century were likely to come under the influence of one or other of the two great Empires It became impossible for Germany to retain an alliance both with Austria and with Russia and she chose Austria The alliance of Germany and Austria included the new kingdom of Italy and was known as the Triple Alliance But Italy and Austria were never really friendly because Austria retained territory inhabited by Italians and the Italian Government wished to include this territory within the Italian kingdom The Union of Italy had been finally achieved in 1870 when during the Franco Prussian War the

Italians took possession of Rome which had belonged to the Papacy

The relations between Russia and Germany became more strained after the succession of a young emperor William II to the throne of the German Empire in 1888 and his policy led to an alliance between France and Russia This Dual Alliance came into existence in 1895 and thenceforward Europe was divided into two hostile camps The Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance opposed each other in the discussion of European affairs and they were preparing to oppose each other upon the battlefield Great Britain for long remained unconnected with either of the rival alliances and in the last years of the nineteenth century was more friendly with Germany than with France The widespread extent of the British Empire naturally brought about difficulties with other Powers There were many subjects of disagreement with France in Egypt and elsewhere and Russian policy on the frontiers of India always aroused suspicion Disagreements with Germany were settled in 1890 by an arrangement in accordance with which Great Britain ceded to Germany the island of Heligoland and received compensation elsewhere The outbreak of the South African War in 1899 produced a violent anti British feeling in France and Germany alike and Lord Salisbury's Government was somewhat alarmed by the hostility shown to Great Britain by the European Powers This alarm led in 1902 to the first permanent alliance made by Great Britain It was an alliance not with any European Power but with the great Eastern Empire of Japan In 1895 the Japanese had been successful in a war with China and France Russia and Germany had intervened to prevent them from reaping the fruits of their victory Japan was therefore ready to make an agreement with Great Britain Its terms unlike those of the Triple and Dual Alliances were made known to the world If either Power was attacked by more than one enemy the other was to come to its help

The arrangement with Japan was soon followed by a more remarkable and significant departure from the policy of isolation or no alliances The German Empire was engaged in the construction of a great navy the object of which could only be to challenge the supremacy of the fleet upon which the safety of Great Britain depended This country possessed only a small army and made no effort to rival the great military forces of the continental Powers Germany possessed the largest and most efficient of these great armies and while she was creating alarm in Great Britain by her naval programme she was also creating alarm in France by strengthening her army In these circumstances Great Britain and France in 1904 came to an agreement by which all the outstanding questions between the two countries in different parts of the world—in Morocco in Madagascar and in Egypt—were amicably settled just as similar disagreements between Germany and Great Britain had been settled in 1890 Great Britain did not join the Dual Alliance and the British Government did not even know the details of the treaty between Russia and France But the settlement of all the old disputes between France and Great Britain had in the European conditions of 1904 a much greater significance than the settlement with Germany in 1890 It was announced that these old disputes had been settled in order that the two countries might act together in the future and follow the same policy and the friendly understanding between them received the French title of the *Entente Cordiale* It was known that Great Britain would support France in European Conferences called to decide difficult questions

Germany was alarmed by the *Entente Cordiale* and the German Government took in 1905 the opportunity of a dispute about French claims in Morocco to ascertain how far Great Britain was prepared to support France There was a danger of war but Germany gave way The Morocco dispute of 1905 was very important because after it was over Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman who

had just become Prime Minister allowed French and British generals to discuss the military plans of the two countries in the event of Germany's making an attack upon France No promise of British assistance was given but the fact that plans of defence against a German invasion of France were drawn up with the consent of the British Prime Minister made it almost impossible to refuse to give help if the occasion should arise In 1907 outstanding disputes between Great Britain and Russia were settled but Great Britain did not enter the Dual Alliance and when there was danger of war between Austria and Russia in 1908 and the German Emperor in a grandiloquent speech proclaimed that Austria's ally stood by her in shining armour the British Government remained aloof and Russia yielded upon the point at issue although Austria was undeniably in the wrong Once again in 1911 Germany challenged the *Entente Cordiale* on the question of French influence in Morocco Great Britain announced her intention of supporting France and Germany accepted a compromise But the danger of war had been so close that the British and French Governments made a naval agreement in accordance with which the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean and the British fleet became partially responsible for the protection of the northern coast of France

The *Entente Cordiale* in its origin purely peaceful had thus become under the pressure of repeated German aggression the equivalent of a defensive alliance between Great Britain and France though Great Britain had given France no definite promise of help if the Germans should attack the Republic The vast military machine which Germany had been engaged in constructing for forty years was not likely to remain unused and by 1914 the Germans had built their great navy In the summer of that year they completed the reconstruction of the Kiel Canal which had been deepened so as to allow warships to pass in safety to and fro between the Baltic and the North

Sea Germany was ready for war and the occasion soon came

The trouble which was ultimately to involve nearly the whole of the world began in the east of Europe Three of the Balkan Powers went to war with Turkey in 1912 in order to succour the Christians in Macedonia and Albania who were being badly treated by the Turks They succeeded in defeating Turkey but they immediately quarrelled among themselves Bulgaria attacked Greece and Serbia and these two states with the help of Roumania deprived the Bulgarians of their share of the spoils won in the previous war One result of the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 was an increase in the power of Serbia and the influence of the Serbs aroused the jealousy of Austria There were in the Austro Hungarian dominions large districts the population of which were Serbs or Jugo Slavs and it was known that these subject races of the Austrian Empire were aiming at a union with their kinsfolk in the kingdom of Serbia

On Sunday 28th June 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand nephew and heir of the old Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria was murdered at Serajevo a town in Bosnia a Jugo Slav or Southern Slav district which had recently been incorporated in the Empire Austria declared that the assassins had been instigated by the Serbian Government and sent an ultimatum to Serbia demanding the acceptance of many humiliating conditions and threatening war within two days if these conditions were refused There is no doubt that Germany as the ally of Austria was aware of the demands made in the ultimatum The Serbs intimated their willingness to yield to all the Austrian demands except two and asked that these two should be placed before an international court Austria contemptuously refused this request and declared war on Serbia on 28th July The Serbs were in intimate relations with Russia and they looked to Russia for help It was obvious that the conflict was likely to involve the whole of Europe

Germany assisting Austria and France assisting Russia The British Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey tried hard to assemble a European Conference to mediate between Austria and Serbia but the two Central European Powers Germany and Austria, refused to take part in such a Conference The Germans who at first had encouraged their allies did make one suggestion of delay but it was too late On 1st August Germany declared war on Russia and on 2nd August German troops invaded France

A European War bad begun but it was still uncertain whether Great Britain was to take part in it There was a moral obligation though there was no legal contract to support France and Germany tried to secure British neutrality by offering tbat after her victory she would be content witb seizing some of tbe numerous French colonies and would not annex any province of France itself The Prime Minister Mr Asquith denounced this suggestion as an infamous proposal but the British attitude remained uncertain until it was decided by the German invasion of Belgium Great Britain, France, and Germany were all solemnly pledged to maintain and protect Belgian neutrality and the British Government following the precedent of 1870 asked each of these countries if the pledge was to be observed The French Government at once gave an assurance of its intention to be loyal to its word The German Government refused to reply and on 3rd August tbe King of the Belgians informed Great Britain that Germany was about to invade his country and asked for tbe protection which the British Government was bound by treaty to provide An ultimatum was at once sent to Germany asking for an undertaking to respect the neutrality of Belgium It received no reply and at midnight on 4th August Great Britain became a combatant as the ally of France Russia and Serbia against Germany and Austria

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE TWENTIETH CENTURY—II

THE Germans invaded Belgium in 1914 because they had long ago made up their minds to do so and their military plans could not be altered at the last moment even for the chance of keeping Great Britain neutral These plans were carried out *successfully* but the *success was not* complete and victory depended upon complete success The French were deceived and out manœuvred Their generals had been quite sure that the German invasion would be made farther south and their preparations had been made on that false assumption They were also wrong about the numbers which Germany put into the field for an invasion of France The result of these miscalculations was that before the month of August had come to an end a vast German army had swept through Belgium and had penetrated so far into France that Paris was in grave peril A British army under Sir John French had been sent at once to the assistance of the French but both French and British had to fall back before overwhelming numbers and the British retreat from Mons in Belgium to the river Marne is one of the most honourable episodes in British military annals At the end of August the German people believed that the war had been won

But the German onset had not destroyed the fighting forces of their enemies the main aim of every army and the brilliant advance came to an end before it could

achieve the triumph of the capture of the French capital The entry of a German army into Paris would not only have been a severe blow to French prestige and spirit but would also have dislocated the machinery of government The French people and their rulers were determined to continue the struggle even if Paris should fall and arrangements were made for the transference of the Government to Bordeaux But Paris did not fall Early in September the French armies in conjunction with the small British force made a counter attack and in the First Battle of the Marne drove the Germans back in considerable disorder to the banks of the river Aisne There the pursuit ended for the Germans entrenched themselves in strong positions Their attempt to decide the issue of the war in a few weeks fighting had failed, and the French army could count upon receiving reinforcements from the troops which Lord Kitchener was raising and training in Great Britain The crimes perpetrated by the Germans in the course of the invasion of Belgium had aroused a widespread indignation and had inspired the crowds of British volunteers who were offering themselves for service against so cruel an enemy

For four years from September 1914 there were two great entrenched lines facing each other in the Western theatre of war Soon after the German retreat to the Aisne these lines of trenches extended from the North Sea to the borders of Switzerland The Germans held almost all the Belgian coast and in the late autumn they made a great effort to advance upon the ports of Calais and Boulogne which formed the lines of communication between France and Britain This effort was foiled by the success of the British army in the First Battle of Ypres (October November 1914) and the Germans never obtained possession of the Channel ports While the Germans had failed in three great aims —the complete defeat of the French armies the capture of Paris and the seizure of the Channel ports—the success which they had attained was sufficiently remarkable

They had advanced far into their enemy s territory and had established themselves in what were to prove almost impregnable positions and they had done this in spite of having to fight on two fronts At the very beginning of the war the Russians had helped their French allies by invading East Prussia and though they were de feated and driven out their campaigns there and in Poland withdrew a large portion of the German army from France and Belgium The Russians also attacked and defeated the Austrians

In each of the years 1915 1916 and 1917 the French and the British tried to break through the great en trenched German line in the West and as time went on the French who had borne the brunt of the early fight ing received more and more relief from the armies raised in Great Britain at first voluntarily and after 1916 through the adoption of compulsory military service The efforts made by the British in 1915—at Neuve Chapelle in March and at Loos in September—were unsuccessful experiments but they repelled in April in the Second Battle of Ypres a German attack made with a new weapon of warfare a poisonous gas In 1916 the French defeated a tremendous and long continued German onslaught upon the fortress of Ver dun and the British conducted a great offensive upon the river Somme which resulted in a considerable gain of territory but did not succeed in breaking the German line In 1917 the French were unsuccessful in a great offensive action fought between Soissons and Rheims and the British after a brilliant success near Arras in the spring spent the autumn in a vain effort known as the Third Battle of Ypres to drive the Germans from the Belgian coast

While the main Franco-British effort was being made on the Western front the area of military operations was constantly being widened The British Overseas Dominions recognized from the first that the threat of a German military domination affected the whole world and they shared the stress of the conflict with Great

Britain In the end of 1914 Turkey joined the Central Powers and in 1915 a British expedition was sent to the Dardanelles in the hope of capturing Constantinople and thus rendering valuable assistance to the Russians who were fighting three enemies—the Germans the Austrians and the Turks The capture of Constantinople and the opening of the Black Sea would also have provided greatly improved means of communication with Russia and might have profoundly affected the course of the war, but the expedition was mismanaged It began as a purely naval attempt and the unsuccessful naval assault gave warning to the Turks and when an army was afterwards sent to the peninsula of Gallipoli it found the ground occupied by well entrenched Turkish forces There was much hard fighting in which Australians and New Zealanders played a specially gallant part but the number of troops was never adequate to the task before them and in the end of the year the Expeditionary Force was withdrawn Two European nations entered the war in 1915 Italy which though still a member of the Triple Alliance had declared its neutrality in 1914 joined the Allies in May 1915 in order to bring under its own rule the Italian districts in the Austrian Empire Bulgaria on the other hand made an alliance with the Central Powers in September and attacked Serbia The Serbs had hitherto been able to defend their country but they were soon overpowered by a combination of Austrians Germans and Bulgars In 1916 Roumania which had long hesitated at last made up its mind to adopt the cause of the Allies but the Roumanian military effort was misdirected and most of the country was soon occupied by the Germans

The war was not confined to the continent of Europe The German colonies were captured by expeditions sent either by Great Britain or by one of the Dominions The Union of South Africa showed its loyalty to the Empire both by sending troops to Europe and by capturing German South West Africa in 1915 and German East Africa in 1916 the first of these expeditions was

delayed by a rebellion in 1914 but it was suppressed by General Botha The entry of Turkey into the war was followed not only by the attempt on the Dardanelles but also by expeditions to Mesopotamia and Syria in which after severe fighting and some reverses British troops were ultimately victorious At sea a German squadron defeated an inferior British naval force off Coronel on the coast of Chile in November 1914 but reinforcements were sent and in December the German squadron was destroyed off the Falkland Islands After that the German Fleet except for a few raiders which were tracked down and destroyed was confined to its home waters and was watched by the British Grand Fleet in the North Sea Occasionally in 1914 and 1915 German ships were sent to raid the British coast and bombard seaside towns and on 31st May 1916 was fought the Battle of Jutland the only great naval action in the course of the war The British fleet was greatly superior in numbers to the German fleet and the object of the German admiral was to engage a portion of it while avoiding the risk of a conflict on a large scale In this he succeeded but only through the lucky accident of a sea fog The Germans narrowly escaped what must have been an annihilating defeat at the hands of Sir John Jellicoe the Commander in Chief of the British Grand Fleet and though they had actually inflicted greater losses than they suffered they realized that the risk of the total destruction of their fleet was too great to justify a repetition of their enterprise For the rest of the war the German High Seas Fleet remained in its harbours

The most important German naval effort was a submarine campaign which had momentous results In the early months of the war some British warships were destroyed by torpedoes fired by submarines and in the beginning of 1915 the German Government determined to use these vessels in order to prevent supplies from reaching this island. The Allies had declared a blockade of the German coast and had been partially successful

in preventing goods from reaching Germany though a very considerable amount was imported through the Scandinavian countries But Germany could feed her inhabitants from the fruits of her own soil whereas the population of Great Britain depended for bread upon imported grain If the mercantile marine could be intimidated and if merchant vessels should cease to enter British harbours starvation would ensue and the British Government would be compelled to accept any terms that Germany might like to offer In accordance with this scheme the coasts of the British Isles were proclaimed to be under a ' submarine blockade and vessels approaching them were sunk at sight by German submarines without regard to the fate of their crews

The country was saved by the courage of its sailors who faced the new and terrible danger with undaunted courage and the submarine campaign at once created difficulties between Germany and the greatest of the neutral nations the United States of America After the Germans sank in May 1915 the Atlantic liner *Lusitania* with a loss of 1 200 persons many of them American citizens the President of the United States Mr Woodrow Wilson extorted from the German Government a promise not to sink unarmed merchantmen without warning The promise was not kept and it was withdrawn early in 1917 when the Germans openly resumed the practice of what was called ' unrestricted ' submarine warfare The courage of the mercantile marine was put to another and still more severe test but the sailors were determined and undismayed just as the citizens of London and other towns refused to be terrified by the air raids with which the Germans hoped to break the spirit of the civilian population and to create a demand for peace at any price The spring and early summer of 1917 were a very anxious time but gradually devices for destroying the submarines were increased and improved and the renewal of the unrestricted campaign brought a new and powerful enemy into the field against Germany When the German

promise was withdrawn President Wilson recalled the United States Ambassador from Berlin and sent back the German Ambassador in Washington He did not at once declare war but a few weeks later there came the revelation of a German plot to embroil the United States in a war with Mexico In April 1917 the United States entered the Great War in co operation with the Allies though they did not actually join the Alliance

The American declaration of war occurred at a time when a great disaster was happening to the Allied cause Throughout the years 1914 1915 and 1916 the Russians had been fighting ceaselessly and often successfully and their gallant and sustained effort had been invaluable to France and Britain In March 1917 there was a revolu tion in Russia and the Czar Nicholas II was compelled to abdicate At first the Russians continued the struggle and a Russian army gained some victories but the fall of the Czar had loosened the bonds of military discipline and the soldiers refused to fight and in the end of the year the unhappy country fell under the domination of a small body of extremists known as Bolsheviks who made peace with Germany on humiliating terms and devoted their attention to securing their own power an object attained by wholesale massacres of Russian sub-jects The collapse of Russia enabled the Germans to send fresh troops to the West and it explains the lack of success experienced by the British in the autumn of 1917 and also a serious defeat suffered by the Italians in their difficult campaign against the Austrians who were reinforced by German troops

In the end of 1917 France and Britain greatly weakened by the Russian failure were holding their entrenched line in the West Serbia and Roumania had been overrun by the enemy and Italy with French and British help had just stopped a very dangerous Austro German advance into Italian territory The end of the war seemed to be a very long way off There had been many changes since the beginning of the war Mr Asquith s Liberal Cabinet had been compelled in 1915

to form a Coalition with the Conservatives and this First Coalition Government had been broken up in the end of 1916 and had been replaced by another Coalition under Mr Lloyd George as Prime Minister Lord Kitchener who had organized the British military effort in 1914–15 had been drowned in 1916 while on his way to Russia the ship in which he was a passenger had struck a German mine In the field Sir John French had been succeeded as Commander in Chief by Sir Douglas Haig The country had endured many disappointments and it had before it another severe test of its courage and determination

The United States had made no preparation for war and though conscription was at once introduced time must elapse before the armies in the West could be reinforced by any considerable number of American soldiers The Germans having no longer to fight on two fronts brought almost all their forces to the West in the hope of winning a complete victory and ending the war before the Americans were ready In March they made a violent assault upon the British army in the region where it joined the French army The object was to divide the two armies and deal with each of them separately The Germans won a great victory in the Second Battle of the Somme captured many prisoners and recovered at a blow much ground which had been slowly taken from them in the three preceding years but they did not attain their great object The French and the British retained contact with each other and both countries made desperate efforts to meet the German attack Among the expedients adopted for this purpose was the appointment of a French general Marshal Foch as Commander in Chief of all the Allied forces in the West The danger was not over when the first German assault was checked The enemy tried in April to break the British line in the north and to seize the Channel ports Again they won victories but again they were balked in their main object for the British line was still intact In May they had another series of successes

in attacking the French but once more they achieved nothing in the nature of a decisive result Their resources were being exhausted by the violence and persistence of their efforts and in July they were only partially successful in an assault upon the French in the neighbourhood of Reims

By that time Marshal Foch was ready and a French counter attack drove the Germans across the river Marne It was the beginning of a series of Allied victories The British under Sir Douglas Haig began in August an advance which never halted It was only a question whether the Allies should try to end the war in 1918 or should wait for the American troops which were arriving in large numbers and some of which were taking part in the fighting Haig took the responsibility of an attempt to gain at once a final and decisive victory and the British and French armies continued to drive the Germans out of France and Belgium Elsewhere the allies of Germany were coming to grief A Franco British force sent to Salonica to the help of the Serbians in 1915 had not saved Serbia from conquest but with the aid of the heroic remnants of the Serbian army it inflicted defeat upon the Bulgarians in the summer of 1918 The British expedition to Syria after some initial disasters had captured Jerusalem in the end of 1917 and in the following year it drove the Turks out of Palestine British authority had been established in Mesopotamia The Italians in October 1918 won a series of victories over the Austrians

The end of the war had come Bulgaria surrendered in September Turkey in October and Austria on 3rd November A revolution broke out in Germany and Kaiser William II abdicated and fled to Holland The Germans had already besought President Wilson to use his influence with the Allies to secure an armistice and on 8th November Marshal Foch dictated to a German delegation the terms on which an armistice would be granted On Monday 11th November fighting ceased. There could be no doubt about the completeness of the

Allied victory The Germans undertook to take their armies back to Germany without delay and to surrender their navy and their military stores and Allied garrisons were to occupy German territory on the left bank of the Rhine

The peace negotiations were long and complicated By the Treaty of Versailles (1919) Alsace and Lorraine were restored to France, the integrity of the kingdom of Belgium was established and the boundaries of Italy were enlarged Three new states were created in Eastern Europe The Republic of Poland was formed from the provinces of the old kingdom of Poland which had been seized and divided by Russia Prussia and Austria in the eighteenth century The ancient kingdom of Bohemia which for many centuries had been part of the Austrian dominions became the centre of the new Republic of Czecho Slovakia and Serbia was widened into the kingdom of Jugo Slavia Austria and Hungary became republics

These arrangements were combined in the Treaty with the institution of a League of Nations Its members bound themselves to promote international peace to avoid resorting to war until efforts to arrive at a peaceful solution of international questions had been exhausted to observe treaty obligations and to respect International Law The League of Nations is authorized to alter provisions of the Treaty of Versailles when necessity arises for such changes It began its work by issuing mandates to different countries for the administration of the former German colonies and in the years that have elapsed since its foundation it has settled several international disputes and has done much to help the recovery of Europe from the devastation of the War period The League owed its existence largely to the enthusiasm of President Wilson but his own country refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles or to join the League Its original members were the Allied and Neutral Powers, but Germany and other ex enemy states have since been admitted to membership

The existence of a body of sister states in the British Empire was recognized by provisions for the separate representation of the self governing Dominions and of India and also by the issue of special mandates to the Union of South Africa for the administration of the old territory of German South West Africa, to the Commonwealth of Australia for German New Guinea and to New Zealand for Samoa

This international recognition followed a remarkable development which occurred in the course of the War In 1917 representatives of the Dominions met not in a mere conference but in an Imperial War Cabinet which took important steps with regard both to the conduct of the war and to the conditions on which the British Empire as a whole was prepared to make peace The Imperial War Cabinet did not sit for any length of time but one of its members General Smuts the representative of South Africa remained in this country until the end of the War as a member of the small War Cabinet which during the Premiership of Mr Lloyd George was entrusted with the task of carrying on the struggle with Germany Since the conclusion of peace various events and agreements have emphasized the share taken by the Dominions in determining the policy of the Empire Before the accession of Queen Victoria the colonies had been mere dependencies of the mother country during her reign they came to be regarded as self governing provinces of the Empire entitled to manage their own affairs but still dependent upon Great Britain in all matters connected with foreign policy since the Great War they have been recognized as partners in the Imperial Commonwealth

The events of the last eight years are too recent to be discussed in these pages for they are closely connected with modern political controversies The Coalition Government of Mr Lloyd George was returned to power in 1918 after a General Election conducted in accordance with the provisions of a Fourth Reform Act passed in

the same year That Act made an extension of the franchise to include every man of the age of twenty one who has resided in a constituency during the six months preceding an election and every woman of the age of thirty who possesses a similar residential qualification or is the wife of an elector Women were also made eligible to sit in the House of Commons

The Coalition Government after the conclusion of the War had to deal with a serious situation in Ireland The promise given by the leader of the Nationalists Mr Redmond at the outbreak of the War had been kept by his party but the Nationalists almost at once lost their influence which passed to a party known as Sinn Fein ('Ourselves Alone') Sinn Fein demanded complete independence for Ireland including Ulster and at Easter 1916 some of its extreme members raised a rebellion in which a large area of Dublin was sacked After the suppression of the rebellion attempts were made to secure an amicable settlement and in 1917 Mr Lloyd George summoned a National Irish Convention for this purpose The Sinn Feiners would not meet the Nationalists and the Unionists in the Convention and the two parties which did meet could not agree After the War the Lloyd George Cabinet passed two Home Rule Bills for Ireland creating separate Parliaments in Southern Ireland and in Northern Ireland—*i e* six counties in Ulster Sinn Fein refused to work the new constitution and the year 1920 witnessed a civil war in Southern Ireland which continued for over a year In the summer of 1921 the Government made a truce with the republicans and in December after many discussions a treaty was signed The Irish Treaty of 1921 gave Southern Ireland the status of an Overseas Dominion Northern Ireland remained outside the Irish Free State and is governed under the provisions of the Home Rule Act of 1920 The settlement was not accepted by the extreme republicans who wished to sever Ireland from the Empire and to include Northern Ireland in an independent state A second civil war broke out in

1922 and was suppressed by the authorities of the Free State

Soon after the settlement with Ireland the Coalition of Unionists and Liberals which had supported Mr Lloyd George since 1916 broke up and a General Election in the end of 1922 resulted in a Unionist majority A Unionist Government came into office under Mr Bonar Law who had held important posts in both the Coalition Ministries He died in the following year and was succeeded by Mr Stanley Baldwin who went to the country almost immediately to ask for sanction for a policy of Tariff Reform In a General Election fought in the end of 1923 no party had a clear majority but when Parliament met the Liberals gave their support to the Labour Party which took office under Mr Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister The Labour Party had grown in numbers and importance since the War In 1918 59 Labour members were returned in 1922 there were 142 and in 1923 there were 191 The Labour Government held office for less than a year Disputes arose with its Liberal supporters and a third General Election in the end of 1924 reduced the representation of Labour to 151 and gave the Unionists a large majority Mr Baldwin formed his second Administration

THE END

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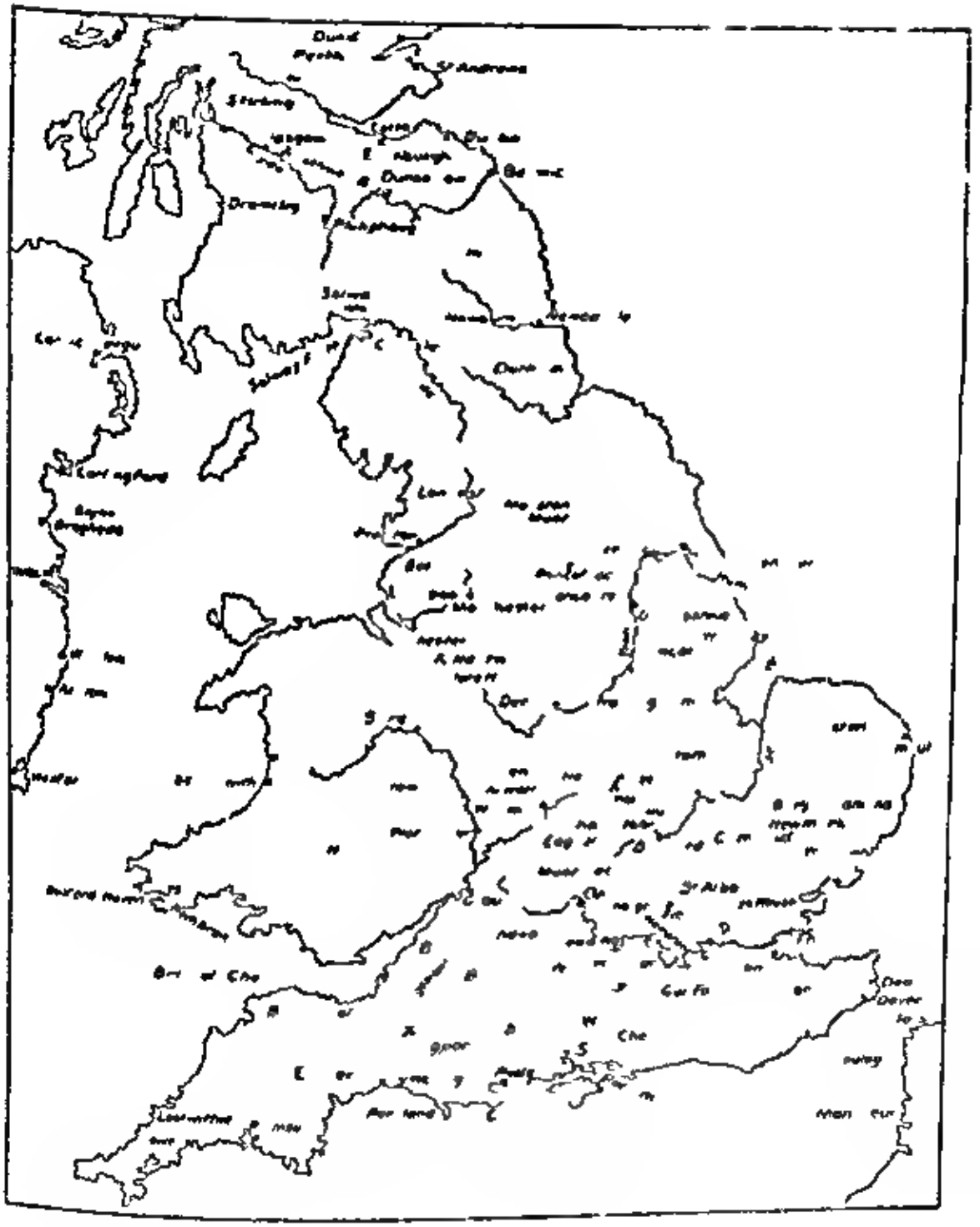

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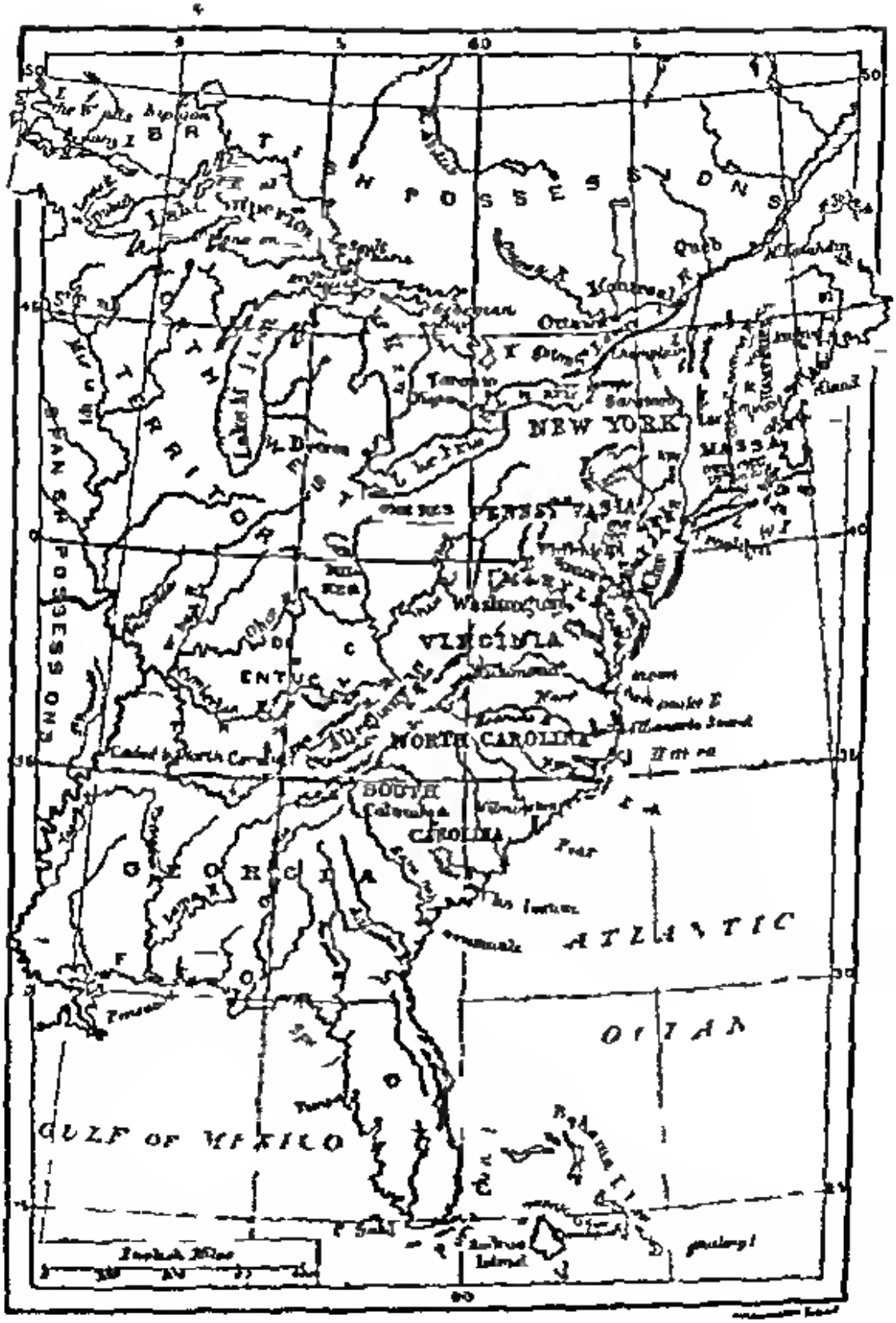


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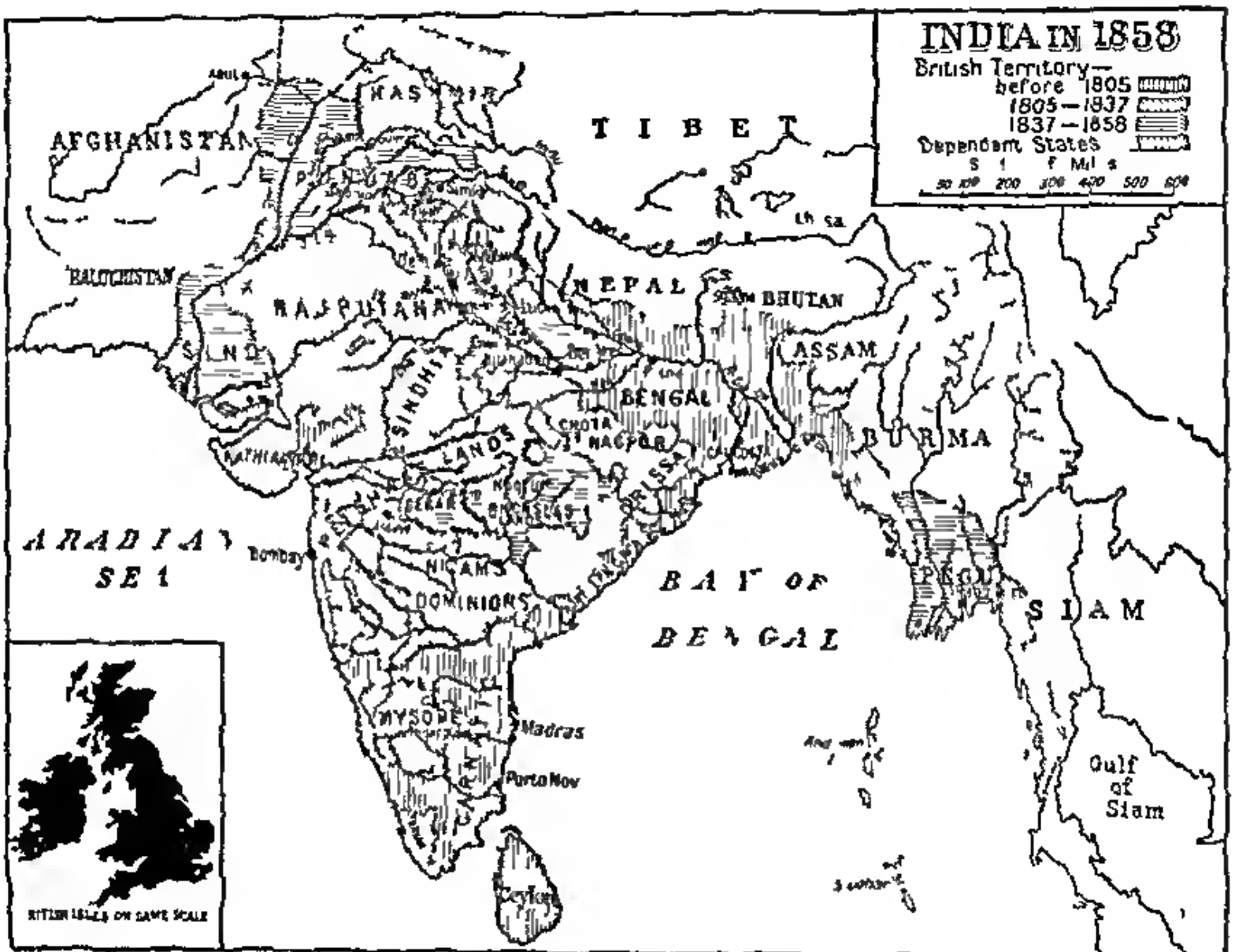


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